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THE
CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES

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VOLUME IV.



LONDON.

CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., LUDGATE STREET.

1845. ~

Figure 6. The effect of the number of iterations on the accuracy of the proposed algorithm. The results are averaged over 10 trials.

[illegible]

LONDON: WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

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CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.



THE founder of the Royal Exchange was born in the year 1519; and he lived during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. He was descended from a family originally settled in the county of Norfolk, and which had become considerable and wealthy by commerce. James Gresham, his great-grandfather, chiefly resided at Holt, where he had a manor-house and good estate. But he frequently resided in the populous and busy city of Norwich. This James Gresham was succeeded by his son John, and John married a lady who brought him a large fortune, and in due process of time

four sons,—William, Thomas, Richard, and John. Richard, the father of Sir Thomas, the founder of the Royal Exchange and Gresham College, was knighted by Henry VIII., as was also his younger brother John. It appears that three of these four brothers, including William, the eldest, who succeeded to the landed estates, were all engaged in trade. William was a mercer and merchant-adventurer of London, and one of the principal freemen of the Mercers' Company. In 1544 he joined his younger brothers Richard and John in making a loan to Henry VIII.; and at this time he was ranked among the most considerable of the English merchants that traded with the Low Countries. His brother Richard, the father of Sir Thomas, was bred a mercer in the city of London, being apprenticed to Mr. John Middleton, an eminent mercer and merchant of the staple at Calais. As early as the year 1507 Richard was admitted to the freedom of the Mercers' Company. He was so very fortunate in trade that he purchased vast estates in several counties of England. He was frequently absent upon business at Calais and in the Low Countries. During his residence on the continent he was a diligent collector and writer of news; and he corresponded directly with the king's ministers, and with no less a personage than Cardinal Wolsey, to whom he was much devoted. Richard Gresham acted in fact as political or money agent for Henry VIII. in the Netherlands, and resided in this capacity at Antwerp during a part of Henry's capricious and ridiculous wars with France. He was the first of our merchants to discover that foreign loans were precarious and costly, and that money might possibly be raised in the city of London for the service of the king or government without applying to the Dutch and Flemings. His devotion to the government got him into some trouble in the city, but there is good reason to believe that it also obtained for him many preferences and advantages. In the year 1531 Richard became sheriff of London, and received the honour of knighthood from Henry VIII. At this time Sir Richard attempted to do what was afterwards done by his son Sir

Thomas. The merchants of London, having no convenient place of resort, were accustomed to meet at 'change-hours in Lombard Street, where they were exposed to the open air and all injuries of the weather. Sir Richard wrote a letter to Sir Thomas Audeley, Lord Privy Seal, to acquaint him that there were certain houses in Lombard Street belonging to Sir George Monnocks, which, if allowed to be purchased and pulled down, would afford space for building a handsome Bourse or Exchange, such as existed in the Netherlands and in other countries; and he therefore entreated Audeley to move his Majesty, that a letter might be sent to Sir George requiring him to sell those houses to the mayor and commonalty of the city of London "*for such prices as he did purchase them for.*" Sir Richard calculated that two thousand pounds or something more would pay for the new building, which would be very "beautiful to the city, and also for the honour of our sovereign lord the king." The scheme, however, fell to the ground, the fault, it should seem, lying mostly, if not entirely, with the citizens. In the year 1537, Sir Richard became Lord Mayor of London. It appears that he continued to manage various financial matters for the court, and that he obtained the goodwill of the various ministers who succeeded Cardinal Wolsey, and the favour of Henry VIII., even when that once debonnaire King had grown into a gross, capricious, and sanguinary tyrant. The last fact will explain that Sir Richard had a yielding conscience in matters of religion (and this, indeed, appears to have been the case with his son Sir Thomas as with all the other members of the family). While sheriff he had received into his custody and committed to Newgate the accomplished and unfortunate James Bainham, a Protestant gentleman of the Temple, who was charged with heresy by the Popish priests, and who in the end was burned in Smithfield. Many years after this, when Sir Richard was not trammelled by any official duty, as he had been during his shrievalty, he became one of the commissioners to find out heretics and bring them to condign punishment, Henry having declared that, whe-

ther Papists or Protestants, all were heretics who rejected his own unsettled exposition of the faith. Bishop Bonner presided over this commission, and under it cruelties were committed as atrocious as any that were perpetrated in the time of Queen Mary. Sir Richard's brother, Sir John Gresham, was also in this commission. Yet Sir Richard had come early into the market as a purchaser of church and monastic property, and had written letters to Thomas Cromwell, the great agent in the confiscation, to beg him to move the king to give him preference in the market, and let him buy at a price of his own naming, certain church lands in his own native county of Norfolk. He received from the king five successive grants of church lands; and in 1540-1 he was named one of the commission for taking the value of the abbeys, monasteries, &c., in and about London, a most money-making occupation, and which no man performed without looking to himself. Yet if Sir Richard benefited himself by the breaking up of the old institutions, he made some laudable efforts to get something out of the scrambling for the destitute classes, who in former times had depended upon the alms of the Popish clergy, and upon the hospitals and infirmaries attached to the abbeys and monasteries. He petitioned the King "for the aid and comfort of the poor, sick, blind, aged, and impotent persons, being not able to help themselves, nor having no place certain where they may be refreshed or lodged at;" and he prayed his majesty to order that the "three hospitals or spitals within the city, commonly called St. Mary's Spital, St. Bartholomew's Spital, and St. Thomas's Spital, and the new abbey by Tower Hill," should be set apart and endowed for the use of this poor and sick people. The prayer of this petition was in part granted by Henry, and the grant was confirmed under his son Edward VI. And in the grand confiscation of religious houses in the city Sir Richard obtained for the Mercers' Company the house of St. Thomas of Acre, and the Company erected the Mercers' chapel, in Cheapside, on the site. He died in the month of February, 1548, about a year after Henry VIII., at his mansion at Bethnal

Green. His brother John, who was also knighted, was equally successful in the world, being one of the principal merchant adventurers trading with the Levant. He also was sheriff and lord mayor. In 1546 Sir John Gresham bought of his eldest brother, William, the family manor-house at Holt, and converted it into a free grammar-school, and most liberally endowed it with estates in Norfolk, and some lands or houses in London. Like other property bequeathed for the same noble purposes, this endowment has been allowed to be shamefully mismanaged by a City Company, and in part alienated, and instead of being one of the foremost establishments in all England, which it well might have been by this time, the Holt grammar-school educates only some forty or fifty boys, and has only one university exhibition of twenty pounds per annum. The passion for plunder, and extortion, and self-appropriation, did not cease with the remorseless scramble for church property at the dawn of the Reformation; and, unhappily, the good intentions of the Gresham family have been particularly exposed to the mean and selfish passions of those who have lived after them, and who have been unworthily intrusted with the administration of the property they bequeathed for high and ennobling purposes. Sir John joined his brother Sir Richard in imploring Henry VIII. to make over some of the suppressed religious houses in the city for the use of the poor and diseased; and it is said that to him the city was mainly indebted for Bethlehem Hospital as an asylum for lunatics. Sir John, who died in Queen Mary's time, had a very grand and very papistical funeral.

Thomas Gresham, younger son of Sir Richard, it has been said, was born in the year 1519. The place of his birth is somewhat doubtful. Fuller in his *Worthies* says decidedly that he was born in the county of Norfolk. Others again say that he was born in London. One part of Fuller's account is, that he "was bred a mercer and merchant in the city of London." His mother, the first wife of Sir Richard, was Audrey, daughter of William Lynne, esquire, of Southwick, in Northamptonshire. Son, nephew, grandson, and great-

grandson to opulent merchants, Thomas was destined to trade from his birth. But Sir Richard, although intending that his son should follow his own profession, resolved to give him the advantages of a liberal education at one of the universities. Thomas was sent to Cambridge, and yet was bound apprentice, as mercer, to his uncle John. Whether he went to the university first, and to his uncle's counting-house or warehouse afterwards, or whether he finished his apprenticeship first, and went to the university after that, we do not discover. We learn from Gresham himself that he served eight years' apprenticeship to trade. Probably his stay at Cambridge was but short, and was taken out of these eight years. In the year 1543 Thomas was in the Low Countries, acting by himself as a merchant, and as an agent for Henry VIII. In 1544 he married a rich widow. His wife was daughter to William Ferneley, esquire, of West Creting, in Suffolk, and widow of William Read, whose ancestors were settled at Beccles, in Suffolk. Read had been citizen and mercer of London, and must have lived on terms of intimacy with the Gresham family, for he appointed Sir Richard (the father of Thomas, who married his widow) overseer to his will, and bequeathed him a legacy of ten pounds and a black gown. Read's age is not mentioned. From the great haste of his widow to marry again, it has been conjectured that Read was a good deal older than his wife, or that upon other grounds she did not much lament his loss. He died in 1544, and she married young Thomas Gresham in the course of the same year. She had two sons by her first husband. Her younger sister, Jane Ferneley, was married to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the lord keeper, father to Nathaniel Bacon, and to the great Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam. To Gresham she bore one son who was named after his grandfather, Richard. This marriage did not keep Gresham at home: he was frequently absent for considerable periods of time in the Low Countries, or elsewhere. His head-quarters abroad were at Antwerp, the great centre of commercial and financial operations; but at times he resided at Bruges.

He had acquired a reputation for activity, ability, and stability as a merchant, and was enriched by an hereditary reputation, or by the high consideration to which so many of his family had attained, when the embarrassments of the English government called him fully into employment. Sir William Dansell, financial agent for the crown in the Low Countries, had shown a great lack of financial skill ; and through ignorance, or negligence, had so mismanaged matters that the rate of interest was fearfully raised upon the King, and his credit at the same time much injured. He was "revoked from his office of agent by reason of his slackness."*

This happened in the month of April, 1551, in the fourth year of the reign of Edward VI. The court and government, being then entirely ruled by the incapable protector Somerset and his self-seeking and rapacious crew, were deeply in debt, and so discredited abroad that there was but little prospect of their obtaining any fresh loans. In this perplexity their lordships of the council called in several London merchants, to take their advice as to the means of extricating government from the difficulties under which it lay. Among these merchants was Thomas Gresham. He says himself—"I was sent for unto the council, to know my opinion what way, with least charge, his Majesty might grow out of debt. And after my device was declared, the King's highness and the council required me to take the room [business or office] in hand, without my suit or labour for the same."†

At this time the annual interest on the king's foreign bonds amounted to what was for that time an enormous sum. By the management of the foreign exchanges, over which no English merchant had hitherto attempted to exercise any control, the rate of exchange was ruinously adverse to England. Moreover, the continental capitalists drove their trade much in the manner of cer-

* Letters as quoted by J. W. Burgon, in *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*.

† Cottonian MS. as cited by J. W. Burgon.

tain disreputable modern money-lenders, who give to the spendthrifts with whom they deal so much in cash and so much in bad pictures, or in sour wines in the docks, or in bad jewellery, or the like. At every renewal of debt they required their slow and unpunctual creditors to purchase jewels or other wares and merchandise to a large amount, as a consideration for their giving time for the liquidation of the debt. It should appear that neither Henry VIII. nor his son and successor had ever been able to conclude an original loan without agreeing to take at a price fixed by the money-lenders some jewel "marvellous big," or some "fair and great diamond," or some other article of which they had no manner of need. "This," says Gresham, "was to his Majesty's extreme loss and damage."*

Being thus appointed to serve the king, Gresham now carried his wife and family to Antwerp, and established himself in the house of Gaspar Schetz, a rich merchant, with whom he had long been connected. This Gaspar Schetz was the eldest of three brothers, who were all wealthy, and partners with him in his business. Their family motto, or the motto they adopted on a medal which bore the names of Gaspar, Malchior, and Balthazar Schetz, was "*CONCORDIA RES PARVÆ CRESCANT*"—By union small things increase. All the brothers, like their father before them (Erasmus Schetz), are described as having a taste for letters and for arts. Gaspar, the eldest, filled very high offices, having been successively chief factor to the Emperor Charles V., and treasurer-general of the Low Countries. He was a connoisseur and collector of coins, and enjoyed besides the reputation of a poet. He was the foremost man in all Antwerp, and Antwerp was then the foremost trading city in Europe. The mind of Gresham was evidently cultivated and improved by his long connection with this family. In other respects Antwerp was a pleasant and joyous residence; but during the earlier part of his employment as royal agent, Gresham was not allowed to live there

* Original letters, as quoted by Mr. Burgon.

uninterruptedly. According to his own account, during the first two years of his service to King Edward VI. he posted from Antwerp to the court at Westminster no fewer than forty times, and each time upon short notice. It should appear that whenever there was a money difficulty at court—and such difficulties were constantly occurring during the whole of the reign of Edward VI.—Gresham was called over and taken into council by ministers that were as ignorant and blundering as they were selfish and rapacious. The common process was to discharge, or partially discharge, the interest due upon old debts, by making new debts at Antwerp. And still, goods or useless nicknacks continued to be forced upon the borrower, in the old fashion. More than once we find Gresham perplexed to his wits' end to know how he shall convey over to England scores of bales, the exportation of which is prohibited by the government of the Low Countries, and to devise how his own government are to turn hucksters, and force the immediate sale of commodities for which there is no demand in England. The ingenuity which the perplexed agent exercised in these dilemmas is very amusing, and seems generally to have been attended with success; but it was a system of tricks and expedients, to be excused perhaps in that ignorant, anti-commercial time, but certainly not to be upheld as an exemplar and model to the British merchant of a better, because a more enlightened, age. In many respects Gresham was to the true merchant and financier only what the alchemist and conjurer was to the chemist and true natural philosopher. His errors were indeed those of his age; but beyond his age he never appears to have looked, nor can we discover in him even a germ of those freer and juster ideas of trade which were timidly enounced a century after his death.

The government, and Gresham himself, entertained, in its widest extent, the fallacious notion of the time, that it was a most fatal thing to allow money to be carried out of the country; and, although there was no proper establishment of custom-house officers or coast-guards, no organized police, no suitable organization in any one

department of government, they all fondly fancied they could prevent the exportation of coin and bullion, which could not be prevented even now by all the systematized apparatus we possess. Laws were frequently banded that were terrible in the Statute Book, and that would have been very sanguinary—if *only* they had not been impossible of execution. Neither Gresham, any more than those who employed him, ever appear to have thought that the money's worth in good merchandise was as good as the money, or to have felt that what the great Bacon said a few years afterwards of knowledge was strictly applicable to money—for money, like manure, is meant to be spread, and is of no value when kept idle in heaps. But if they were so chary about coined money, and gold and silver, in bars or in lumps, the wasteful and ever greedy ministers of Edward VI. were not at all scrupulous about sending away bell-metal and other materials plundered from the church. Every English church once had its bell or bells, and the chimes of the great churches, cathedrals, and abbeys, had been famed for their strength and sweetness, and had filled the country with music: but now these were thrown to the ground, were broken to pieces and melted, or in fragments were sent over to Antwerp to help to appease the impatience of the king's creditors, or to procure more money to be absorbed or wasted by the ministers or courtiers, who long kept King Edward all but penniless. Gaspar Schetz had the handling of this bell-metal, and no inconsiderable part of Gresham's business lay in driving the best sales or bargains he could in our fine old English church-bells. It appears that at times Gresham was compelled by his employers to offer cloths and fustians, as well as bell-metal, in lieu of money, and to offer them at a less price than that at which they were being sold by the English merchants in Antwerp. To keep the king's foreign creditors in good humour, he was in the habit of giving them rather frequently dinners or banquets. This cost a great deal of money, and put him otherwise to much inconvenience, for the Dutch and Flemings were deep drinkers, and expected him to drink

glass for glass with them. Gresham and his father Sir Richard had been sworn friends or servants to the Duke of Somerset; but when that protector was overthrown and sent to the scaffold by the Duke of Northumberland, Master Thomas transferred his devotion to the new protector, and continued to flourish under him.

After much toil Gresham got Northumberland to agree to a plan of punctual payment, which would keep up the credit of government and save them from the heavy fee-penny in future. His plan was that the government should pay him weekly 1200*l.* or 1300*l.*, to be secretly received by one individual, so that it might be kept secret: having this money punctually paid, he would take up at Antwerp every day 200*l.* or 300*l.* by exchange. "And thus doing," he continues, "it shall not be perceived, nor shall it be an occasion to make the exchange fall, for that the money shall be taken up in my name. And so by these means, in working by deliberation and time, the merchants' turn also shall be served. And also this should bring all merchants out of suspicion, who do nothing to payment of the king's debts, and will not stick to say that ere the payment of the king's debts be made it will bring down the exchange to 13*s.* 3*d.*; but I trust never to see that day."* In the same letter to the Duke of Northumberland Gresham passionately recommended a measure which must have greatly troubled the English merchants. It was to seize instantly all the lead in the kingdom, to make a staple of it, and prohibit the exportation of any lead for five years to come. This, said Gresham, would make the price of the commodity rise at Antwerp, and the king might feed that market with lead as it was needed from time to time, and at his own price. It was a suggestion worthy of a Turkish pasha; yet it has been applauded by a recent biographer; and Gresham (whose ignorance is more excusable) dwelt upon it with a sort of rapture, telling the Duke of Northumberland that by these combined means, or by all the daily payment of 200*l.*, and

* Letter in Strype.

the seizure and monopoly of all lead, he would keep the money of England within the realm, and extricate the king from the debts in which his father and the Duke of Somerset had involved him. High-handed as he was, Northumberland shrank from the daring and unpopular step of seizing the lead. As for the weekly payments which he agreed to, they were only continued for eight weeks, or rather for less. Yet, by means which have not (*all*) been very clearly shown, Gresham succeeded in raising the rate of exchange in favour of England, and in making the pound sterling, which had passed there for 16s., rise on the bourse of Antwerp to 19s. 8d. He congratulated himself on his great success; yet some of the means which he says himself he recommended and got adopted for the obtaining of this desirable end are as objectionable in principle, and almost as tyrannical, as the lead project could have been. On one occasion his own uncle, Sir John Gresham, was a great loser by these high-handed proceedings: but with the experience and adroitness of the Gresham family, and with Thomas's great power of control over exchanges and the money-market generally, it must have been strange if "my uncle Sir John" did not get good compensation for what he lost or was robbed of by government. In the course of two or three more years the pound sterling was raised at Antwerp to 22s., and at this rate Gresham discharged all or most of King Edward's debts. So high was the opinion now entertained of Gresham that the Duke of Northumberland employed him diplomatically (though without any credentials) to sound the ambassador of Charles V. as to the emperor's views touching a new connection and family alliance with England. He was also employed on other state business, some portions of which were not of a very honourable nature. He acted as a spy and interceptor or purloiner of letters. He is said to have gratified his government by intercepting some correspondence between the French court and those who governed at Edinburgh in the name of the young but already unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots. In the year 1552 Gresham presented to Edward VI. "a pair

of long Spanish silk stockings," and got great favour and fame thereby; for, continueth that honest chronicler and quondam tailor John Stow, "you shall understand that King Henry the Eighth did wear only cloth hose, or hose cut out of ell-broad taffety; or that by great chance there came a pair of Spanish silk stockings from Spain." For his services of all kinds, Gresham certainly received no stinted reward. He came in for some of the spoils of the church, or monastic bodies, which had not yet been swallowed up. These lands were all in Norfolk. Three weeks before his death, Edward conferred upon him other church lands; and by an instrument bearing date only six days before that young king's death, Gresham got a good slice out of the lands of the abbey of Our Lady of Walsingham, also in Norfolk, and out of some other church domains in the same county. It was a sad day for Master Thomas that on which the young King Edward died. His patron, the Duke of Northumberland, after the failure of his insane attempt to place his daughter-in-law the Lady Jane Grey upon the throne, was sent to the same scaffold on Tower Hill to which he had sent Protector Somerset. Queen Mary ascended the throne, completely remodelled the government, and commenced a fierce persecution against the despoilers of the Roman Church and the Protestant party generally. On the 4th of September, 1553, about a month after Mary's accession, Gresham, being at Antwerp, was desired "to make his immediate repair to the court;" but the letter of recall (if such it was meant to be) "was again stayed," and was not sent till the 9th, when the tone of it should appear to have been altered.* In the end, and that too very shortly, the storm blew over Gresham's head, leaving him unscathed, and even in the enjoyment of his now very profitable employment. From the evidence before us, we suspect that our knowing and cunning merchant made great haste to comply with the times, and that afterwards, when Elizabeth came to the

* Minutes of the Council Office, as quoted by J. W. Burgon.

throne to re-establish Protestantism and proscribe Popery, he not only exaggerated the amount of his risk and danger at the accession of Mary, but was also guilty of falsehood or equivocation, hinting that his danger was owing to his steadfastness in religion. Notwithstanding his usefulness and the hereditary and acquired reputation of Gresham, it may most reasonably be doubted whether he would have been left in office and even taken into favour by Mary and her government if he had not given some assurance of that conformity which was exacted from all men holding places. His family, like so many others, had invariably steered with the shifting winds. Almost as soon as the bigoted Queen Mary was firmly seated he wrote a letter, declaring his allegiance and explaining of what use he had been in getting the king her brother out of debt. As Mary very soon wanted to borrow money herself, Gresham very soon became, to all appearance, as great a favourite at court as he had been during the Protestant rule of the Duke of Northumberland or of the Duke of Somerset. He corresponded directly with Secretary Petre, with the Privy Council, and occasionally with the queen herself.

The court stood in urgent need of specie; but the rulers of Flanders, as well as the governments of all Europe, dreaded, equally with the English government, the exportation of specie or bullion, and thought that gold and silver might be kept at home by severe legislative enactments. And, although money could no more be kept in by such means than water can be prevented from seeking its level and diffusing itself, it was not to be got out without smuggling and an infraction of the laws. Hence we have seen that Gresham in his instructions is ordered to proceed "in the most secret manner." The mistake in principle led to unfairness and treachery in action; and the government which threatened their own subjects with condign punishment for exporting out of their own realms specie and bullion, were ever ready in case of need to tamper with the subjects of other governments, and engage them to infringe these very laws. It is amusing to see the shifts and tricks which our royal

agent was obliged to have recourse to. All the specie or bullion was smuggled, Gresham bribing the custom-house officers to prevent a too searching inquest into his bales and vats and casks. After buying up some gunpowder of which the government of Queen Mary stood in need in consequence of the recent insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt, and its apprehension of a great Protestant rising in England, Gresham sent to Spain to get more specie. His operations there caused one of the oldest banking-houses in Seville to stop payment, and he said he greatly feared he should be the occasion of making bankrupts of all the bankers of that city. He was detained in Spain by this business nearly five months; during which time he was more than once rather ungraciously reprimanded by the English government. Shortly after his return to England he went over to his post at Antwerp, and there continued to transact the business of queen's agent, as well as other more private commercial affairs as a mercer and merchant-adventurer. A courtier warned him that the best way to continue in favour with Queen Mary was to court the goodwill, and write often about her husband King Philip, who went over to his father's states in Flanders not long after his marriage with the English Queen. The hint was not lost upon Gresham, who, like a good courtier himself, wrote frequently to the queen about the "right good health" and marvellous good looks of King Philip, and thanking and praising God that it should be so, and praying God that so it might continue to be. On the other side, Philip aided our royal agent in getting specie sent out of Flanders and Holland into England, only strictly charging him to convey the money "with as much secrecy and as small bruit" as he could. In other words, Philip himself turned smuggler, and contravened his own or his father's laws. The queen frequently answered Gresham's letters with her own hand, and the correspondence became very friendly and uncereemonious on both sides. Now and then Mary's conscience was startled at her agent's bold proceedings, as when Gresham built himself at Antwerp a furnace wherewith to

melt down the Spanish coin, a thing heinous in the eyes of the law of the country. His house at Antwerp was the occasional lodging of all the ministers and superior officers of Mary's government who passed that way; and ambassadors and diplomatic agents residing abroad seem frequently to have received their pay through him or his correspondents. He had, in the principal kingdoms of Europe, paid native agents, who sent him regular intelligence in politics as well as in trade. He organized this intelligence system in the time of Edward VI.; but he continued it under Queen Mary, and extended it under Elizabeth. He witnessed at Brussels the abdication of the Emperor Charles V. in favour of his son Philip II., the unloving and disappointed husband of our queen. But he was now frequently and for long periods resident in London. In 1555 he was among those who presented new year's gifts to her majesty. At this time he was in the very highest favour at court, obtaining from Queen Mary a grant of more lands. But court favour and great prosperity, particularly in a city merchant, were, in those days, likely to excite envy and malice; and in 1556 Gresham was rather severely handled by the Marquess of Winchester, the old lord treasurer, who taxed him with not being quite so honest as he ought to be. Yet the cloud must have soon passed over, for Gresham was soon again busily employed in the queen's affairs in the Low Countries, making fresh loans, buying gunpowder, arms, armour, &c. In November, shortly after receiving a letter from Gresham, in which he prayed God "to preserve her noble majesty in health and long life, and long to reign over us with increase of honour," Queen Mary died. This event rendered necessary in public men another and entire change of principle or profession. But it was not probable that Thomas Gresham, who had been a strenuous Protestant under Edward VI., and then a thorough Papist under Queen Mary, would have any difficulty in becoming again a Protestant under Queen Elizabeth. He hastened to London, and was among the first to be presented to the virgin queen at Hatfield, where she was preparing to

make her triumphal entrance into the capital. As she had already appointed William Cecil her principal secretary of state, and as Cecil was the old ally of our merchant, Gresham came before Elizabeth under very favourable auspices. She promised him by the faith of a queen that she would ever deal fairly with him, and that she would give as much lands as ever had been given to him by King Edward her late brother, and Queen Mary her late sister; "which two promises," adds Gresham, "made me a young man again." At the end of the audience her majesty gave him her hand to kiss, and confirmed him in his place. Mary had left an empty treasury; Elizabeth was in immediate want of money, and who could negotiate the foreign loans so well as the long practised Gresham? Before departing for Flanders, the royal agent wrote a letter of advice to the queen to explain to her majesty how the nation had fallen into debt, and how all her fine gold had been conveyed out of the realm. Some of the remedies he suggested were excellent. Henry VIII. had sadly debased the coin: he advised the queen to bring it back to its purity; he advised her to contract as little debt as possible in foreign countries, and to be scrupulous in keeping up her good credit; and "*specially*," said he, "*with your own merchants; for it is they must stand by you at all events in your necessity.*" Yet shortly after offering this good counsel, he again recommended the government to stop the fleet of merchant ships loaded and bound for Antwerp, and so bring the merchants to their own terms, and keep up the rate of exchange abroad. He told Cecil that he must lie in wait until he was quite sure that all the cloths and kerseys were entered and shipped; and that then he must pounce upon the fleet, declaring that none should depart till the queen's further pleasure were known. The measure, which is characteristic of the mixed cunning and violence of the times, appears to have been carried into effect as Gresham recommended, and with the immediate success that he anticipated from it. But such measures could not make the name of Gresham a popular one among the merchants of London. Besides

his money-dealings at Antwerp, the royal agent was charged with the purchase of saltpetre, ammunition, and arms, as he had been in Queen Mary's days; the difference being, that Mary had wanted the arms and gunpowder to keep down her Protestant subjects, and that Elizabeth wanted them to be employed against her Catholic subjects in case they should attempt any insurrection, and against the Catholic party of Mary Queen of Scots in Scotland. But it was now much more difficult to smuggle these things from the Netherlands than it had been when Philip was husband to the living Catholic Queen of England. Gresham's cunning and address, however, increased with his difficulties; and while there were many zealous Protestants at Antwerp disposed to do the will of the virgin queen, the custom-house officers continued to be as bribable as ever. At the same time Gresham increased his diligence in collecting and remitting to Cecil all sorts of political information, a good part of which was obtained by men who cannot be designated otherwise than as spies. At the end of the year 1560 Gresham attained to still higher honours, being appointed ambassador or temporary minister at the court of the Duchess of Parma, now regent of the Netherlands, and receiving thereupon the honour of knighthood. Notwithstanding this promotion, he continued in business as a merchant-adventurer, and kept his shop open in Lombard Street, with a great grasshopper (his family crest) over the door as a sign. He was one of the first to announce the coming of the great Protestant revolution in the Low Countries, and to tell Cecil that the people were so dissatisfied with their intolerant government, that if it came to a war, Elizabeth would have more assured friends among them than Philip. Well knowing how the queen's heart stood affected, Gresham paid great court to Lord Robert Dudley, who was youngest son of his once great protector, the late Duke of Northumberland, and who soon became Earl of Leicester and the most potent and profligate of court favourites. During his embassy at Brussels, he nursed for Lord Robert a little palfrey, which was destined to carry the

queen. He also purchased for her majesty a Turkish horse which he warranted as "a very fair beast," as "one of the readiest horses that is in all Christendom, and that runs the best." He had, indeed, constantly to attend to purchases for the queen's highness, the lords of the council, and the gallants about court—to buy pairs of Spanish silk hose, curling-irons, iron chests and locks, little nags, well-going clocks, black buttons, white and grey beavers, and in short, all manner of commodities. Most of what he sent to Secretary Cecil appears to have been in the shape of presents or bribes. On one occasion he despatched him one hundred shirts made in Germany, and a warm gown or cloak made of wolf-skin. There were occasional rubs and impediments, and serious apprehensions of the court's displeasure; for we find Gresham writing to Cecil to implore him to stand his friend, and to befriend his poor wife, and to be a suitor to the queen for the getting out his pardon. During the absence of Cecil in Scotland, the lord treasurer—the same old Marquess of Winchester who had brought him before into trouble—accused Gresham of having made his public employment subservient to his private advantage (which no doubt he had done), and of keeping in his strong box a balance of 40,000*l.* of the queen's money. Concurrent with these accusations were various complaints from English merchants as well at home as in the Netherlands. Gresham, who seems to have been for some time in an agony of fear, trusted in God that the queen would remember her promise to keep one ear to hear him when his accusers had possession of the other ear. He protested his innocence of all the charges brought against him, although it might have been more difficult to disprove some of them than it was to prove by his account-book that he had at that time only a small balance of the queen's money in his hands. But Sir Thomas Parry stood his friend, Cecil soon returned from Scotland, and this tempest also blew over. Against the complaining merchants Gresham appears to have speedily obtained some vengeance; for he forthwith recommended Cecil to have again recourse to his sudden surprises and

high-handed practices with the merchant-adventurers, and to extract money from them by way of forced loans.

As a much greater storm was brewing on the continent, Gresham had many journeys to make in Flanders upon state business. In one of these his horse fell with him, and his leg was broken. The leg was set, but he is said to have continued lame for the rest of his life. He returned to England in March 1561. In the month of July of that year, he begged Cecil to appoint a day for the meeting of the commissioners, who, with the friendly Cecil at their head, were to examine his accounts. The accounts appear to have been pleasantly passed by the commissioners; and in August Gresham was sent back to Flanders to get 30,000*l.* out of the English merchants, to pay therewith part of the queen's debts, and to ask time of her creditors for the rest. The commotions in the Low Countries had by this time greatly increased, and Count Egmont and the powerful Prince of Orange had placed themselves at the head of the malcontents. These people wanted arms and ammunition for themselves; yet Gresham succeeded in obtaining a good supply of saltpetre, some armour and guns, with which he returned to England. During his now very frequent absences from his post his duties as queen's agent at Antwerp were intrusted to his old and faithful servant Richard Clough, a Welshman, one of the most laborious and minutest of correspondents. Gresham was of opinion that the custom-house at Antwerp was a much more efficient establishment for the collecting of duties than that of her majesty Queen Elizabeth at London; and he wrote to Richard Clough to desire him to get and send him full information as to its constitution and management, with all the details connected with it. Honest Richard, who delighted in details, went to work *con amore*, and soon filled twenty folio pages. He not only ran down the London custom-house, but he also abused the London merchants and the rulers of the city, as a company "that do study for nothing else but for their own profits." "As, for ensample," says Richard, "considering what city London is, and that in so many

years they have not found the means to make a Bourse ! but must walk in the rain, when it raineth, more liker pedlars than merchants ; and in this country and all other, there is no kind of people that have occasion to meet but they have a place meet for that purpose. Indeed, and if your business were done, and that I might have the leisure to go about it, and that you will be a means to Mr. Secretary [Cecil] to have his favour therein, I will not doubt but to make so fair a Bourse in London as the great Bourse is in Antwerp, without molesting of any man more than he should be well disposed to give." Gresham, as we have seen, inherited the notion of a London Bourse or Exchange from his father Sir Richard ; but Richard Clough, no doubt, had a good deal to do in maturing the idea, and in aiding him in the execution of it.

By this time Sir Thomas was busily employed in building his new and spacious house in Bishopsgate Street, which afterwards became Gresham College, and which Stow describes as being "the most spacious of all other thereabout ; builded of brick and timber." The house was surrounded by open grounds—convertible into pleasant gardens—which extended from Bishopsgate Street to Broad Street. His foreign agents and correspondents in the Low Countries shipped for him such materials as could not easily be had in England. The large sums he was expending on this vast building were a proof of his wealth, and a fresh provocation to envy.

Sir Thomas, being on the continent in 1562, told Cecil that for a certainty there would shortly be a great league for religion's sake against Elizabeth : and partly because the Catholic party in France were so very poor at the time, he earnestly recommended the queen to support and join the French Huguenots, and thereby regain possession of Calais and the other strips of English territory in France which had been lost under her sister Mary. Soon an English army was sent over to Havre de Grace under Sir Edward Poynings ; and thus was begun a system which never ceased during Elizabeth's

reign, she succouring and leaguering herself with the revolted subjects of the Catholic powers, and those powers sending their succours to her disaffected Catholic subjects in England, and sending troops to act with her rebels the Papists of Ireland. In the year 1564 Gresham entered largely into some home manufactures. By an act of parliament, followed by a royal proclamation, England prohibited the importation of cutlery, pins, hats, girdles, ribands, and other articles. These things had hitherto been chiefly imported from the Low Countries, but now Gresham and others had entered upon the speculation of manufacturing them at home. The proclamation was therefore to act as a protection to the speculation of the queen's agent and friends.

In the summer of 1566, the war of religion and independence, which was to last more than half a century, was begun in earnest at Antwerp. His occupation in that country being now almost gone, Gresham busied himself in England about other matters. At the beginning of the year 1565 he had made a proposal to the court of aldermen, that if they would purchase and give him a piece of ground in a proper place, and large enough for the purpose, he would build upon it a Bourse or Exchange, with large and covered walks, where the merchants and traders of all sorts might daily assemble, converse together, and transact business with one another, at all seasons, without any interruption from the weather, or other impediments of any kind. The merchants and citizens had recently had many meetings and consultations upon this subject; for the inconveniences attending the meeting in the open air in Lombard Street were now seriously felt. The court of aldermen accepted the proposal made to them by Sir Thomas, and the subscription was set on foot to raise money for purchasing the land. No fewer than seven hundred and fifty citizens subscribed in small sums, the total sum immediately wanted being short of 4000*l*. The subscription commenced in March 1565, and ended in October 1566. The bargain for the land was concluded in the month of September; but the ground was cleared and the first

stone laid some months earlier. The citizens, in conveying the ground to Sir Thomas Gresham, entered into certain covenants with him, and they afterwards complained that these covenants were broken. They also affirmed that the ground cost them more than the sum originally stipulated. It has not been discovered how much the materials and building cost Sir Thomas; but as he derived the then large sum of 700*l.* a year as rent from the Exchange, and as labour was then cheap, and much of the building material furnished by his own estates, he no doubt got something like good interest for his outlay. His architect was one Heinrick, a Fleming. Many of the bricklayers and other workmen came also from the Low Countries; and the statues which decorated the edifice seem in all probability to have been made in Flanders. In short, the building and everything about it had a Flemish character, the design itself being an imitation of the great Bourse or Exchange of Antwerp. According to an engraving, executed most probably at Gresham's own order, the edifice was "full ended" in the year 1569. It consisted of two portions, an upper and a lower: the upper portion was laid out in shops, 100 in number, and the lower into walks and rooms for the merchants, with shops on the exterior. It was to increase the reputation of the place, and especially to get tenants for these shops, and not to open the Exchange, which had been finished and opened long before, that Queen Elizabeth was induced by Gresham to pay her much celebrated visit to the spot in the year 1571. The manœuvre was very ingenious and characteristic of the man. For more than a year after the completion of the Exchange, the shops remained almost empty, thus causing much disappointment to the founder, who had anticipated a handsome income from them in the shape of rent. Gresham's imagination went to work, and hit upon a new "device." It was noised abroad that the queen was coming in state to visit the Bourse, and Gresham "went twice in one day, round about the upper part, and besought those few shopkeepers then present that they would furnish and adorn

with wares and wax lights as many shops as they either could or would, and that they should have all those shops so furnished rent-free that year, which otherwise at that time was forty shillings the shop by the year.”* All things being prepared, and all the city bells ringing, on the 23rd January 1571 “the queen’s majesty, attended with her nobility, came from her house at the Strand, called Somerset House, and entered the city by Temple Bar, through Fleet Street, Cheap, and so by the north side of the Bourse to Sir Thomas Gresham’s in Bishops-gate Street, where she dined. After dinner her majesty, returning through Cornhill, entered the Burse on the south side; and after that she had viewed every part thereof above the ground, especially the Pawne [the upper part of the building wherein were the hundred shops or stalls], which was richly furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the city, she caused the same Burse, by an herald and trumpet, to be proclaimed the Royal Exchange, and so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise.”†

After this grand celebration, Gresham’s bazaar or shops began to be filled and the rents to be raised! “And within two years after, he raised that rent unto four marks a year; and within a while after that he raised his rent of every shop unto four pounds ten shillings a year, and then all shops were well furnished according to that time; for then the milliners or haberdashers in that place sold mouse-traps, birdcages, shoeing horns, lanthorns, Jew’s trumpets, &c. There were also at that time that kept shops in the upper Pawne of the Royal Exchange, armourers that sold both old and new armour, apothecaries, booksellers, goldsmiths, and glass-sellers: although now it is as plenteously stored with all kinds of rich wares and fine commodities as any particular place in Europe, unto which place many foreign princes daily send, to be served of the best sort.”‡

But great fame as well as great profit was derived by Gresham from this royal visit. Dramatists and poets

* Stow.

† Id.

‡ Id.

took up the subject and treated it not only in English, but also in Latin. Old Thomas Heywood, in celebrating the queen's visit and Gresham's wealth and glory and loyalty, became rather rhapsodical, making the cool and cautious Gresham perform the extravagant feat which is related of Cleopatra. He makes Gresham reduce a costly pearl to powder, put the powder into a cup of wine, and then swallow wine and pearl-powder together with these words:—

“Here fifteen hundred pound at one clap goes!
Instead of sugar, Gresham drinks the pearl
Unto his queen and mistress: Pledge it, lords!”

It appears from various complaints of the citizens, that parts, at least, of the Exchange had been run up with too much haste, or had been built of bad materials. On the ground-floor there were said to be holes in the walls, and indications which seemed to threaten the passers by with a tumble down of the upper stories. Gresham's building did not exist quite a century, being burned to the ground in the great fire of London in the year 1666. The statues of kings and queens fell to the ground upon their faces, and the greater part of the building fell upon them. “But Sir Thomas Gresham's statue,” says Evelyn, “though fallen from its niche, remained entire, when all those of the kings since the conquest were broken to pieces.” Sir Christopher Wren, who had the glory, at a later period, of building St. Paul's, and so many other splendid churches in London, presented a magnificent plan for rebuilding the Exchange; but the Gresham committee and the other city magnates preferred employing a Mr. Jerman, one of the city surveyors. Jerman's design did not differ materially from Gresham's or Heinrick's copy of the Bourse of Antwerp. The first foundation stone was laid on the 6th of May, 1667, in the time of Charles the Second. Old Cibber, the sculptor, father to the dramatist, and Gibbons the carver and sculptor, were employed to decorate the interior of the new building with statues of kings, carvings, &c. In the midst of the uncovered quadrangle was placed the statue

of Charles II. ; but the statue of the original founder was placed in an obscure corner of the Exchange, where it was commonly shrouded with placards, shop bills, and advertisements. It would have been well if the citizens had not shrouded more of Gresham than this stone effigies. The recent history of the great centre of the commerce of the World is familiar to all. The edifice erected in the time of Charles II. was burned down on the night of Wednesday, the 10th of January 1838. The foundation of the present building was laid shortly after, and the new Exchange was opened by her Majesty Queen Victoria on the 28th of October 1844.

The vast mansion or city palace which Gresham built for his own habitation, in Bishopsgate Street, or rather on the ground which lies between that street and Broad Street, had been finished as early as the year 1562. To speak critically of the building, from the engravings of it which remain (and the mean-spirited barbarism of our grandfathers has left us nothing else), we should say that the building was noticeable rather from its extent than from any beauty in its architecture. Like the Exchange, it was built after a Flemish model. A quadrilateral range of building, one story high, with attics above, enclosed a large open square, which was ornamented by a row of trees on each of its sides. But the building, the quadrangle, with nearly everything about it, had a quiet, collegiate air ; and when two hundred years had made it venerable, it must, with its associations, have been an interesting place to all persons of taste and feeling. It was here that Gresham feasted the great Elizabeth the day she went to the Exchange, and it was here that, by her command and in order to save her money, he kept in captivity as a state-prisoner the sister of the beheaded Lady Jane, the poor little Mary Grey, who must oft times have looked out from the windows upon the quiet quadrangle or upon the busy street beyond, envying the condition of the poorest woman that passed through them toiling for her daily bread. But Gresham House had some pleasanter associations than these. Although our city knight liked to get, and to keep what he got so long

as he lived, yet after the death of his only son, which happened before he began to build the Exchange, Gresham was quite capable of a posthumous generosity and munificence. His Cambridge studies, his long residences abroad, and his intimate connection with some of the best educated men at home, had given him a respect and love for the liberal arts, and, with the means, he had the ambition of doing something important for their promulgation. He therefore resolved that, after his own death, and the death of his wife, his stately London house should be converted into a college, or seat of learning, and be endowed with the rents derivable from the Royal Exchange. The edifice seemed as if it had been built for such a purpose. It is thought that it was about the year 1575 that he had sufficiently matured his plan to announce his intention of founding this college for the gratuitous instruction of young citizens and of all who might choose to go and attend the lectures. The university of Cambridge, his own Alma Mater, conjured him to abandon this project and to endow a new college at Cambridge instead. Seeing how shamefully that part of his will has been administered in London, we may wish that the property had really gone to his own Alma Mater; for if it had been left to Cambridge, Cambridge would have known how to keep it. But Gresham kept steadily to his London design. By his last will and testament, dated the 5th day of July, 1575, he ordained that the Lady Gresham should enjoy his now dwelling-house in Bishopsgate Street, as well as all the rents arising from the Royal Exchange, during her lifetime, in case she should survive him; but that from the period of her death both these properties should be vested in the hands of the Corporation of London and the Mercers' Company. These two bodies corporate were conjointly to nominate seven competent professors to read lectures successively, one on every day of the week, on the seven sciences of divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, medicine, and rhetoric. The lectures were to be delivered in Gresham House or College, and the professors were to be comfortably lodged

therein. The salaries of the lecturers, which were far more than defrayed by the rents arising from the Royal Exchange, were fixed at 50*l.* per annum each, a sum equivalent to at least 400*l.* or 500*l.* a year at the present day. It might have been expected from a financier and man of business like Gresham, that he would have foreseen that the increasing trade, industry, and ingenuity of the country would rapidly bring in money, and decrease the representative value of the pound sterling and of all other coin; that the rents derivable from the Royal Exchange must be rapidly raised in proportion; and that with this foresight he would have abstained from fixing the salaries according to the value of money and of the rents derivable from the Exchange in his day. But, in cases like this, an enlightened and high-minded legislature would so far interfere with the mere letter of a will as to alter it into the intention of the donor; and the real intention of Gresham could only have been that the seven professors should have and enjoy in all time to come what should be equivalent to the fifty pounds per annum of his own time, and the amount of which would be defrayed by the rising rents of the Exchange. Nothing could be more earnestly worded than all these portions of his will. He conjures the parties charged with the administration of his will to see his intentions carried out, "*as they will answer the same before Almighty God;*" and he tells them that the default thereof "*shall be to the reproach and condemnation of the said corporations afore God.*"*

As such bequests have been most rare among us, it is the more lamentable that the good example set by Gresham should have been in a manner destroyed by those corporate bodies whose bounden duty it was to uphold it, and diffuse the benefits which might have resulted from it. In his great scheme of education the mind of our royal merchant took a high flight. His notion was that the citizens of London, who were all to

* Sir Thomas Gresham's will, as given in Dr. Ward's 'Lives of the Gresham Professors.'

have free access to the lectures, would be quite capable of learning the higher sciences and the elegant arts. He instituted a lectureship upon astronomy at a time when the science was not taught in any school or university in this country, and when its rudiments were almost unknown. Ever since the destruction of the Chantries under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., the taste for music had been on the decline. Gresham included music among his endowed lectures, intending to give a new impulse to that delightful science in the capital of the empire. And, upon the whole, though subjected to disheartening inconveniences and long interruptions, the musical class of Gresham College appears to have conferred more benefit upon society than any of the other classes, or than all the others put together. If from the first there had been in each class or faculty a succession of professors like Mr. Taylor, the present excellent Gresham professor of music, Gresham College would never have become a nonentity or a laughing-stock, and a taste for the arts which civilize, adorn, and cheer the life of man would not have been allowed to perish or decline as it long did among those "in populous cities pent."

Nor did Sir Thomas Gresham forget in his will charities and pious uses. In his lifetime he had built at the back of his London mansion eight substantial alms-houses, and to the inmates of each of these houses he bequeathed the annual sum of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Furthermore he left 50*l.* a year to be distributed among the poor prisoners for debt in the London jails. These and other sums for charitable purposes were to be paid by the Corporation and the Mercers' Company, out of the revenues derived from the Exchange, for those rents amounted to more than 700*l.* per annum, and the salaries of the seven Gresham professorships came only to 350*l.* per annum. He left 100*l.* a-year to his Company for four dinners in the course of a year; and no doubt the worshipful Mercers, however careless as to other parts of his last will and testament, have taken especial care to keep up these celebrations, and to eat the dinners thus provided

for them ; taking also into account the difference between the costs of a civic feast in the seventeenth and in the nineteenth century.

Gresham had an illegitimate daughter by a Flemish woman, whom he brought up in his own house in England. He is said to have given her a good education and a good dower. The last fact, at least, seems to be proved by the importance of the family into which she married. This Anne Gresham could call the great Lord Bacon brother-in-law : her husband was Sir Nathaniel Bacon, second son of Sir Nicholas, the Lord Keeper, by his first wife Jane Ferneley, sister to Lady Gresham. As her name does not occur in his will it is supposed that Gresham's daughter died before the year 1575, when that will was made.

Sir Thomas had no fewer than four or five stately mansions in the county of Norfolk, his favourite house in that county being at Intwood. Besides these he had a fine seat (Osterley) in the county of Middlesex, not far from Brentford ; a magnificent old place (Mayfield) in Sussex, and apparently one or two houses in other parts of the kingdom, in which he occasionally resided. Osterley Park (now the property of the Countess of Jersey) came into the possession of our splendid merchant before the year 1562. It is believed that he knocked down an old house and built a new one upon the site. Norden, who wrote in 1593, describes the house as being a stately building of brick, and the park as being extensive, and "garnished with many fair ponds, which afforded not only fish and fowl and swans, and other water-fowl, but also great use for mills,—as paper-mills, oil-mills, and corn-mills." Here Queen Elizabeth paid Gresham a visit in the year 1570. It is quaint old Fuller that tells this pleasant and well-known story :—

"Her majesty found fault with the court of the house, as too great, affirming that it would appear more handsome if divided with a wall in the middle. What doth Sir Thomas, but, in the night-time, send for workmen to London (*money commands all things*), who so speedily and silently apply their business, that the next morning

discovered that court double which the night had left single before. It is questionable whether the queen next day was more contented with the conformity to her fancy, or more pleased with the surprise and sudden performance thereof: whilst her courtiers disported themselves with their several expressions; some avowing it was no wonder he could so soon change a building who could build a 'Change; others (reflecting on some known differences in the knight's family) affirmed that 'any house is easier divided than united.'"* It is not wealth that always makes the best temple for the household gods. It has been conjectured that many of our merchant's family differences arose out of his affection for his natural daughter; but it should appear that his wife was, on other matters, an irritable sour-tempered woman.

Old and wealthy as he was, the last moments of Sir Thomas's life were devoted to business. "On Saturday the 21st of November, 1579, between six and seven of the clock in the evening, coming from the Exchange to his house (which he had sumptuously builded) in Bishopsgate Street, he suddenly fell down in his kitchen, and being taken up, was found speechless, and presently dead."† By his death many large estates in several counties of England, amounting at that time to the yearly value of two thousand three hundred pounds and upwards, came to his lady, who survived him many years. He, in fact, took nothing from her; for neither Gresham House nor the rents of the Exchange were to be appropriated to the college until after her decease, and yet she begrudged those two well-intended donations, and quarrelled and litigated with the corporation about insignificant sums; and it is quite clear that if she could have annulled the will she would have done so in order to add Gresham House and the rents derived from the Exchange to the great estates which she left to her son by her first marriage. On the 15th of December, the remains of our great merchant were deposited in St.

* Fuller, Worthies, vol. ii.

† Holinshed. Chronicle.

Helen's Church, Bishopsgate Street, close to his own house, and the resting-place of his son Richard. He had prepared for himself a sumptuous tomb or monument during his life-time: but neither his widow, nor his stepson William Read, who, after her, came into possession of the mass of his splendid fortune, ever went to the expense of putting an inscription on the tomb, and it remained without a date and without a name until the year 1736, when the following brief inscription was cut on the solid black marble slab which covers the alabaster tomb, by order of the churchwardens:

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM, KNIGHT,

Bury'd. Decem^{br}. the 15th 1579.

Lady Gresham twice attempted to act contrary to her husband's will; and wealthy as she was (being reputed the richest widow of those days) she tried hard to derive unfair advantages from that small portion of property, the rent derivable from the Exchange, &c., which was entrusted to her for her life-time only. And these things she did in spite of the solemn trust and confidence which her husband in his will said he placed in her as his faithful loving wife. Parliament was obliged to interfere. In the year 1581 an act was passed, confirming all the good uses and intents of the will of Sir Thomas, and sanctioning and guaranteeing not only the private appointments of his will, but likewise his public benefactions (as the college and professorships) and his charities to the poor. Yet still begrudging her husband's bequest for the promotion of learning, not contented with the *usufructu*, and looking beyond the natural term of her own life and to the further enriching of her already wealthy son William Read, Lady Gresham, in the year 1592, endeavoured to get an act of Parliament to empower her and her heirs to make leases from time to time of twenty-one years of the shops in the Exchange, reserving the fines to herself and her heirs. In petitioning the Privy Council she suggested, or insisted, that she ought to have what she asked for, inas-

much as the two corporations (the Mercers' Company and the City Corporation) would assuredly not employ the profits thereof according to the will of Sir Thomas Gresham in paying the seven professors. It is to be deplored that the greedy old lady was but too true a prophet. But the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the day met her petition with a spirited and convincing answer, which set the question at rest for that time. Nevertheless, the leases of twenty-one years, which had been granted by Sir Thomas to the tenants upon the Royal Exchange, being nearly expired in the year 1596, his widow prevailed upon them to take fresh leases of her for the like term of twenty-one years at the old rent, together with the addition of a fine amounting to 4000*l*. The greater part of the fine was paid to her ladyship not many months before the estate, in conformity with Sir Thomas's will, came into possession of the Corporation of London and the Mercers' Company. Thus, the widow made it quite evident, that regardless of the solemn injunctions of her husband's will, she was more anxious to get money for herself and her son and heir, William Read, Esq., than to settle Gresham College, or to give to it that which Sir Thomas had bequeathed. When a party so near to the testator could thus disregard his intentions, it is less surprising, though still lamentable, that others at a distant period of time should heap dirt upon the last testament. The reader will be indifferent about the fact (perhaps he may believe that the old woman is still alive, and presiding with an undiminished selfishness over some of the civic incorporations), but she died, at a very old age, on the 23rd of November, 1596, at Osterley Park. Her son, and the heir to her vast property, William Read, Esquire, was a genial successor. He must have been a grasping and a very litigious man, for the little that is known of his history is known through lawsuits. He stirred not a step nor moved a finger for the execution of Gresham's liberal intentions.

In the year 1614, the twelfth of King James I., and eighteen years after the death of Gresham's widow—and not earlier—the two corporations entrusted with the

management of Gresham College obtained a patent from the crown to hold for ever the rents of the Royal Exchange and the mansion-house in Bishopsgate Street, upon the terms and conditions expressed in the last will of the donor. But before this time they had put themselves in possession of the property, and after consulting the universities, had appointed persons "meet to read the several lectures." They took possession of the property in the month of December, 1596, just after the funeral of the old widow. The trustees drew up a set of rules to direct the professors as to the manner in which they should manage their lectures. If these rules had been adhered to, Gresham College would have been of inestimable value to the community. These citizens clearly understood that the lectures were meant, and ought to be, practical, popular, and attractive; and that to deliver them in Latin, or to make them difficult, abstruse, and drily theoretical, would be a defeating of the end proposed by Gresham. Under these good rules and other good regulations, which seem for a time to have been carefully attended to by the trustees and by the professors they appointed, Gresham College rose into celebrity, and attained to much of the usefulness contemplated by its founder, who had taught the citizens by example "that commercial activity is not of necessity dissociated from the love of science and literature, and that commercial success may be obtained without an abandonment of mental cultivation."* The college being the fixed abode of several men of high attainments, attracted many congenial minds, and became a centre of union for men of letters and science. It appears to have been under the old sloping roof of the mansion in Bishopsgate Street that the first foundation was laid for that scientific association which afterwards took the name of the "Royal Society;" while it is quite certain that it

* Gresham College. Three Inaugural Lectures, delivered in the Theatre of the City of London School, January 29th and 31st, and February 1st, 1838. By Edward Taylor, Gresham Professor of Music.

was within the walls of that house that the members of that Society first congregated and tried their experiments in physic. After the great fire of London which destroyed the Exchange, the Gresham professors placed their rooms for a time at the disposal of their fellow-citizens. The building became a temporary mansion-house as well as a temporary Exchange; some of the spacious rooms were converted into courts of law, and others were fitted up as a residence for the Lord Mayor; shops were erected in the piazzas and galleries, and the merchants assembled at 'Change hours in the quadrangle.

During the seventeenth century we find a good many eminent names among the Gresham professors, as Dr. Barrow, Sir William Petty, Sir Christopher Wren, Briggs, Hooke, Greaves, Bull the Music Doctor, &c. But as early as the year 1701, the trustees of the Gresham property entirely fell off from their duty, and having already made extensive innovations, and suspended for two years all payments to the professors, they petitioned Parliament to allow them to make great and lasting changes. Parliament refused its assent to the prayer of the petition; but from this moment the college, the building, and everything connected with it, appear to have been shamefully neglected; the two wealthy trustee corporations pleading poverty, and feasting away more sumptuously and gluttonously than ever. As the auditory fell off, the city magnates thought that any man was good enough for a dumb or a non-lecturing professor; and in some instances they put broken-down tradesmen, or connexions, or dependants, or mere lacqueys of their own into the college, in order that they might draw the annual salaries which the founder had intended for the support of competent and eminent men. The institution became contemptible in the eyes of the citizens, and the citizens had not taste and spirit enough to take any steps or to raise any reproach against the two trustee corporations. In the year 1706, however, some citizens of a higher and more intellectual order made strenuous efforts for obtaining the revival and restitution of the lectures. But the city magnates were not to be

moved ; and so nothing was done of the least consequence. The two trustee corporations were thinking much less about keeping up the lectures than of knocking down the great house in which they were given and making large sums by letting out the ground upon building leases. In the year 1717 they again petitioned Parliament for leave to knock down the college, &c. Still, however, they had the conscience or decency to state, that if this permission were granted by the legislature, they would erect upon part of the site another building capable of accommodating the professors and such as went to hear them. Their petition was again rejected. Thus did the government and Parliament of King William III. and George I. show more reverence for the will of Sir Thomas Gresham, and more regard for an institution intended for the enlightenment of the citizens of London than were shown afterwards by a government and a Parliament of George III.

As the value of the ground-plot continued to rise rapidly, the trustees became proportionably more eager to carry out their old scheme. Their exceeding eagerness drove them in the end into a very bad bargain, even for themselves. Their greed, like other men's ambition, over-leaped itself. For some time the government and Parliament turned a deaf ear to the impatient wishes of the two bodies corporate. But in the year 1767, government wanted a place whereon to build a new Excise-office, and thereupon they resolved that Gresham College should be pulled down. This could not be done without an Act of Parliament ; but the Parliament then sitting was quite ready to give the power to the crown, and a bill was carried through without loss of time, and apparently without the slightest murmur or opposition : its progress being facilitated by the very trustees of the Gresham property, who were bound, as they would answer for it before God, to maintain the college. The bill ran as smoothly as a common turn-pike act ; and for the miserable sum of 500*l.* a-year, the city trustees agreed to demolish the building, and to alienate for ever from the public (whose property it

really was) the whole of the ground on which Gresham College stood ! Nor was this all. By the Act of Parliament the City Corporation and the Mercers' Company, the joint trustees and guardians of this property, were bound "to pay the sum of 1800*l.* within the space of one month from the passing of the Act, for and towards the expense of pulling down the same." "That is," says the excellent living Gresham professor of music, "they were constrained by an especial law, framed for the purpose, to commit a gross and flagrant violation of their trust, and to employ those very funds which Sir Thomas Gresham had vested in them for the support and maintenance of his college, in demolishing and destroying it!"*

The work of demolition was begun on the 8th of August, 1768 ; and in brief space of time the Excise Office began to show its shameless face on the spot where the college had once been. If the citizens of London alone had felt as they ought, the corporation of London and the mystery of mercers would not have trafficked away their rights and the rights of their posterity, and the legislature would no more have dared to demolish Gresham College than it would have dared to knock down the cathedral of St. Paul's. But the citizens had become gross and unintellectual, were indifferent to the reading of lectures, which had been allowed to become ridiculous, and careless about the preservation of rights and emoluments which had been so shamelessly abused by trustees and professors. It was because the city cared nothing about Gresham College that Gresham College was destroyed. It was only known to them as a place where a few prosing men, at very inconvenient hours for men of business and of feasts, read or spoke about astronomy, mathematics, law, medicine, and music. It does not appear, either from the newspapers or from the other publications of the day, that any effort whatsoever was made by the citizens of London to perpetuate the existence of their only college.

* Edward Taylor. Inaugural Lectures.

To compensate the worthless or neglectful Gresham professors for the loss of their apartments in the old college, their salaries were raised from 50*l.* to 100*l.* a year. A small, dirty, dusky room in an upper story of the old or second Royal Exchange was selected by the liberal and enlightened trustees of the Gresham property, as "a proper and convenient room for the public exhibition of the lectures;" and there, at very inconvenient hours, during Term time, certain of the Gresham professors drawled out vapid nonsense to a thin and sneering auditory until that edifice was consumed by fire. After that catastrophe the learned body met occasionally in the City of London School; and there Mr. Taylor delivered those inaugural lectures from which we have repeatedly quoted. This gentleman has done more than any one else, or than all other persons put together, to awake an interest in the public mind for the shipwrecked institution to which he belongs. The joint trustees have recently built a lecture-room in Gresham Street; but they must do more than this ere they can be relieved from the weight of the odium accumulated by their predecessors and themselves.



GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in February, 1506, at a small village called Killearn, on the borders of Stirlingshire and Dumbartonshire, and received his early education, it is said, in the school of that parish. He came, as he says, "of a family more gentle and ancient than wealthy." His father dying, left a wife and eight children in a state of poverty. George, one of the youngest, was befriended, and, perhaps, saved from want and obscurity, by the kindness of his mother's brother, James Heriot, who had early remarked his nephew's talents, and determined to foster them by a good education. The ancient friendship between France and Scotland, cemented by their mutual hate of England, was then in full force. The Scotch respected the superiority of the French in manners, arts, and learning; and very commonly sent the wealthier and more promising of their youth to be educated by their more polished neighbours. Accordingly Buchanan, at the age of fourteen, was sent

by his uncle to the University of Paris. Here he applied himself most diligently to the prescribed course of study, which consisted principally in a careful perusal of the best Latin authors, especially the poets. This kind of learning was peculiarly suited to his taste and genius; and he made such progress, as not only to become a sound scholar, but one of the most graceful Latin writers of modern times.

After having remained in Paris for the space of two years, which he must have employed to much better purpose than most youths of his age, the death of his kind uncle reduced him again to poverty. Partly on this account, partly from ill health, he returned to his own country, and spent a year at home. After having recruited his strength, he entered as a common soldier into a body of troops that was brought over from France by John duke of Albany, then regent of Scotland, for the purpose of opposing the English. Buchanan himself says that he went into the army "to learn the art of war;" it is probable that his needy circumstances were of more weight than this reason. During this campaign he was subjected to great hardships from severe falls of snow; in consequence of which he relapsed into his former illness; and was obliged to return home a second time, where he was confined to his bed a great part of the winter. But on his recovery, in the spring of 1524, when he was just entering upon his eighteenth year, he again took to his studies, and pursued them with great ardour. He seems to have found friends at this time rich enough to send him to the University of St. Andrew's, on which foundation he was entered as a *pauper*, a term which corresponds to the servitor and sizar of the English universities. John Mair, better known (through Buchanan) by his Latinized name of Major, was then reading lectures at St. Andrew's on grammar and logic. He soon heard of the superior accomplishments of the poor student, and immediately took him under his protection. Buchanan, notwithstanding his avowed contempt for his old tutor, must have imbibed from Major many of his opinions. He was of an ardent temper, and easy, as his

contemporaries tell us, to lead whichever way his friends desired him to go ; he was also of inquiring disposition, and never could endure absurdities of any kind. This sort of mind must have found great delight in the doctrines which Major taught. He affirmed the superiority of general councils over the papacy, even to the depriving a pope of his spiritual authority in case of misdemeanour ; he denied the lawfulness of the pope's temporal sway ; he held that tithes were an institution of mere human appointment, which might be dropped or changed at the pleasure of the people ; he railed bitterly against the immoralities and abominations of the Romish priesthood. In political matters his creed coincides exactly with Buchanan's published opinions,—that the authority of kings was not of divine right, but was solely through the people, for the people ; that by a lawful convention of states, any king, in case of tyranny or misgovernment, might be controlled, divested of his power, or capitally executed according to circumstances. But if Major, who was a weak man and a bad arguer, had such weight with Buchanan, John Knox, the celebrated Scotch reformer, who was a fellow-student with him at St. Andrew's, must have had still more. They began a strict friendship at this place, which only ended with their lives. Knox speaks very highly of him at a late period of his own life : " That notabil man, Mr. George Bucquhanane, remainis alyve to this day, in the yeir of God, 1566 yeares, to the glory of God, to the gret honor of this natioun, and to the comfort of thame that delyte in letters and vertew. That singular work of David's Psalmes, in Latin meetere and poesie, besyd many uther, can witness the rare graices of God gevin to that man." These two men speedily discovered the absurdity of the art of logic, as it was then taught. Buchanan tell us that its *proper* name was the art of sophistry. Their mutual longings for better reasonings, and better thoughts to reason upon, produced great effects in the reformation of their native country.

After Buchanan had finished his studies at St. Andrew's, and taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he accompanied Major to Paris, where his attention was more seri-

ously turned towards the doctrines of the Reformation, which at that time were eagerly and warmly discussed ; but whether from fear of the consequences, or from other motives, he did not then declare himself to be a Lutheran. For five years he remained abroad, sometimes employed, sometimes in considerable want ; at the end of which time he returned to Scotland with the young Earl of Cassilis, by whom he had been engaged as a travelling companion. His noble patron introduced him at the court of James V. the father of Mary Stuart. James retained him as tutor to his natural son, James Stuart, afterwards Abbot of Kelso. It has been proved that he was *not* tutor to the king's other natural son, James Stuart, afterwards Earl of Murray and regent of Scotland, whose first title was Prior of St. Andrew's.

While he was at court, or perhaps while residing with the Earl of Cassilis, having a good deal of leisure, he amused himself with writing a pretty severe satire on the monks, to which he gives the name of 'Somnium.' He feigns in this piece that Saint Francis d'Assize had appeared to him in a dream, and besought him to become a monk of his order. The poet answers, "that he is nowise fit for the purpose ; because he could not find in his heart to become slavish, impudent, deceitful, or beggarly, and that moreover very few monks had the good fortune, as he understood, to reach even the gates of paradise." This short satire was too well written, and too bitter, to pass unnoticed, and the sufferers laid their complaint before the king : but as Buchanan's name had not been put to it, they had no proof against him, and the matter dropped. Soon after the Franciscans fell into disgrace at Court ; and James himself instigated the poet to renew the attack. He obeyed, but did not half satisfy the king's anger in the light and playful piece, the 'Palinodia,' which he produced. On a second command to be still more severe, he produced his famous satire 'Franciscanus,' in which he brings all his powers of wit and poetry to bear upon the unfortunate brotherhood. The argument of the poem is as follows :--he supposes that a friend of his is earnestly desirous to be-

come a Cordelier, upon which he tells him that he also had had a similar intention, but had been dissuaded from it by a third person, whose reasons he proceeds to relate. They turn upon the wretched morals and conduct of those who belonged to the order, as exhibited in the abominable lessons which he puts in the mouth of an ancient monk, the instructor of the novices. He does not give this man the character of a rough and ignorant priest, but makes him tell his tale cleverly, giving free vent to every refinement in evil which the age was acquainted with, and speaking the most home truths of his brethren without fear or scruple. The Latin is pure, and free from the barbarisms of the time.

After such a caustic production, it is no wonder that the party assailed made use of every means to destroy its author. The king, who was a weak and variable man, after much importunity on their part, allowed them to have Buchanan arrested in the year 1539, on the plea of heresy, along with many others who held his opinions about the state of the Scottish church. Cardinal Beatoun, above all others, used his best endeavours to procure sentence against him ; he even bribed the king to effect his purpose. But Buchanan's friends gave him timely warning of the prelate's exertions, and, as he was not very carefully guarded, he made his escape out of the window of his prison, and fled to England. He found, however, that England was no safe place for him, for at that time Henry VIII. was burning, on the same day and at the same stake, both Protestant and Papist, with the most unflinching impartiality. He went over, therefore, for the third time into France ; but on his arrival at Paris, finding his old enemy the Cardinal Beatoun ambassador at the French court, and being fearful that means might be taken to have him arrested, he closed with the offer of a learned Portuguese, Andrea di Govea, to become a tutor at the new college at Bordeaux. During his residence there he composed his famous Latin Tragedies, 'Jephthes' and 'Joannes Baptistes,' and translated the Medea of Euripides into Latin metre, for the youth of his college. The last shows that his ac-

quaintance with the Greek language was by no means superficial. But being continually harassed by the clergy under letters from Cardinal Beatoun, who had traced his retreat, he removed to Paris, and from the year 1544 till about 1547 taught Latin in the college of the Cardinal de la Moine, along with the learned philologists Turnebus and Muretus.

After holding this situation for about three years, Buchanan went with Govea, in 1547, at the instance of the King of Portugal, to a lately established school at Coimbra, in which he subsequently became regent. Before he ventured into Portugal, however, he took care to let the king know that his Franciscanus was undertaken at the command of his sovereign, and therefore ought nowise to endanger his safety in Portugal. The king promised him his protection. But he had not been at Coimbra long, before he was accused by the monks of heresy, and the king, forgetting his promise, allowed them to keep Buchanan prisoner in a convent, as they declared, for the purpose of reclaiming him. They gave him as a penance the task of translating the Psalms of David from the Vulgate into Latin verse. This he accomplished to admiration; and his production is acknowledged to surpass all works of the like sort. The metres are chiefly lyrical. He was soon after dismissed from prison, and took ship for England, and staying there but a short time, he returned again to France. Here he was almost immediately appointed regent in the college of Boncourt, which appointment he resigned in 1555, on being intrusted by the Maréchal de Brissac with the education of his son Timoleon de Cossé. While thus employed he studied, more particularly than he had hitherto done, the controversies of the day with regard to religion, and became most probably a confirmed Protestant, though he did not openly renounce Catholicism till some time afterwards. He wrote, and dedicated to his pupil, a much admired piece, entitled 'Sphœra,' during his tutorship, and also published several poetical works, among others his translation of the *Alcestis* of Euripides. In the year 1560 he returned again to

Scotland, the reformed religion being then prevalent there, and became publicly a member of the Protestant Kirk.

The most important, because the most public part of Buchanan's life now begins. Such a man could not long remain unnoticed by the great in Scotland, and Mary Stuart herself became one of his best friends. He had written for her two epithalamia, one on her marriage with the Dauphin, and one on her marriage with Lord Darnley, and we find him in the beginning of the year 1562 classical tutor to the young queen. For his services in that capacity she gave him a pension of 500*l.* Scots a-year for life out of the temporalities of the abbey of Crossragwell; and in the year 1566 the Earl of Murray, her brother, to whom he had dedicated a new edition of his '*Franciscanus*,' presented him with the place of principal of St. Leonard's College at St. Andrew's. The following year he was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, which was a still more extraordinary homage to his character and various abilities.

In 1570 he resigned the office of principal of St. Leonard's college, having been appointed one of the preceptors to the young King James, then in the fourth year of his age.

It is a matter of no small wonder, that Buchanan, who was James's most influential tutor, for the three others, who were joined in the commission with him, were under his superintendence, should have educated him as he did, or make him what he was. A book which Buchanan published, and which is among the most famous of his works, '*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*,' being a conversation between himself and Maitland the Queen's secretary, contains (though dedicated to his royal pupil) sentiments totally at variance with all the notions of James. In it Buchanan follows the ancient models of what was thought a perfect state of policy. He proves that men were born to live socially,—that they elected kings to protect the laws which bind them together,—that if new laws are made by kings, they must be also subjected to the opinion of the states of the nation,—that

a king is the father of his people for good, not for evil,—that this was the original intention in the choice of Scottish kings,—that the crown is not necessarily hereditary, and that its transmission by natural descent but for its certainty is not defensible,—that a violation of the laws by the monarch may be punished even to death according to the enormity of it,—that when St. Paul talks of obedience to authorities he spoke to a low condition of persons and to a minority in the various countries in which they were,—that it is not necessary that a king should be tried by his peers. He concludes by saying, “that if in other countries the people chose to exalt their kings above the laws, it seems to have been the evident intention of Scotland to make her kings inferior to them.” In matters of religion he rails against episcopal authority of all kinds. Now nothing can be more opposed than all this to the opinions of James, who most strongly upheld the divine right of kings, and episcopal authority. Buchanan, when he was accused of making James a pedant, declared it to be “because he was fit for nothing else.” He was a stern and unyielding master, and no sparer of the rod, even though applied to the back of royalty; and this may in some measure account for the want of influence which he had over the king’s mind. James advises his son, in his *Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον*, not to attend to the abominable scandals of such men as Buchanan and Knox, “who are persons of seditious spirit, and all who hold their opinions.”

It might have been well, however, for the unfortunate Charles if he had been rather more swayed by the opinions of the tutor, and less by the lessons of the pupil. In the early part of Buchanan’s tutorship he attached himself strongly to the interests of the Regent, Murray; and as the patron fell off from the interests of Mary, so did the historian, till at last he became the bitterest of her enemies. He alone has ventured to assert in print his belief of her criminal connexion with David Rizzio, in his ‘*Detectio Mariæ Reginae*,’ published in 1571; and he was her great accuser at the court of Elizabeth,

when appointed one of the commissioners to inquire into Mary's conduct, she being a prisoner in England. Buchanan too lies under the serious charge of having forged the controverted letters, supposed to have passed between Mary and her third husband Bothwell, while she was yet the wife of Earl Darnley, from which documents it was made to appear that she was art and part in the murder of her royal consort. Whether he really forged these letters or not, is a question perhaps too deeply buried in the dust of antiquity to admit of proof. He offered to swear to their genuineness, however, which was an ill return, if that were all his fault, to the kindness he had received from her. His friendship for Murray continued firm all his life; this man was one of the few persons he seems to have been really attached to. Through the Earl's interest, Buchanan, in 1570, had the place of Director of the Chancery for his services conferred upon him, and soon afterwards those of Lord Privy Seal and Lord of Session. The office of keeper of the Scottish seals was a highly honourable and lucrative office, and entitled its holder to a seat in parliament. He retained it till at least 1578, when he nominally resigned it in favour of his nephew, Thomas Buchanan, of Ibbert. In the same year, 1578, he was joined in several parliamentary commissions, legal and ecclesiastical; and particularly in a commission issued to visit and reform the universities and colleges of the kingdom. The scheme of reformation suggested, and afterwards approved of by parliament, was drawn up by him. The same year also he brought forth his celebrated treatise '*De Jure Regni apud Scotos.*' Nothing is told us of his abilities as a practical politician, but it may be supposed that he was fitted for the office he held, for Murray was very careful in the choice of his public servants.

Buchanan's last work, on which he spent the remaining fourteen years of his life, is yet to be spoken of,—his '*History of Scotland.*' In this, which like the rest of his productions was written in Latin, he has been so to unite the elegance of Livy with the brevity of Tacitus. With this praise, however, and with that whi-

to his lively and interesting way of relating a story, our commendations of this work must begin and end. As a history, it is valueless. The early part is a tissue of fable, without dates or authorities, as indeed he had none to give; the latter is the work of an acrimonious and able partisan, not of a calm inquirer and observer of the times in which he lived. The work is divided into four books. The first three contain a long dissertation on the derivation of the name of Britain,—a geographical description of Scotland, with some poetical accounts of its ancient manners and customs,—a treatise on the ancient inhabitants of Britain, chiefly taken from the traditionary accounts of the bards, and the fables of the monks engrafted on them, on the vestiges of ancient religions, and on the resemblances of the various languages of different parts of the island. The real history of Scotland does not begin till the fourth book; it consists of an account of a regular succession of one hundred and eight kings, from Fergus I. to James VI., a space extending from the beginning of the sixth century to the end of the sixteenth. The apocryphal nature of the greater part of these monarchs is now so fully admitted, that it is unnecessary to dilate upon them. Edward I., as is well known, destroyed all the genuine records of Scottish history which he could find. Buchanan, instead of rejecting the absurd traditionary tales of bards and monks, has merely laboured to dress up a creditable history for the honour of Scotland, and to “clothe with all the beauties and graces of fiction, those legends which formerly had only its wildness and extravagance.”

This work, and his ‘*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*,’ he published at the same time, very shortly before his death; and, while he was on his death-bed, the Scottish Parliament condemned them both as false and seditious books. We may lay part of this condemnation to James’s account. It is not probable that he would allow so heretofore of his mother as they contained, directly or his belief to pass without some public stigma. There in his ‘*L* be noticed only two small pieces of this author and he was itish language, one a grievous complaint to the

Scottish peers, arising from the assassination of the Earl of Murray; the other, a severe satire against Secretary Maitland, for the readiness with which he changed from party to party: this has the title of 'Chameleon.'

Buchanan died at the good old age of seventy-four, in his dotage as his enemies said, but in full vigour of mind, as his last great work, his History, has proved. Much has been said in his dispraise by enemies of every class, his chief detractors being the partisans of Mary Stuart and the Romish priesthood. The first of these accuse him of ingratitude to Major, Mary, Morton, Maitland, and to others of his benefactors; of forging the letters above mentioned, and of perjury in offering to swear to them. The latter accuses him of licentiousness, of drunkenness, and falsehood; and one of them has descended so far as to quarrel with his personal ugliness. Of these charges many are, to say the least, unproved; many appear to be altogether untrue. But his fame rests rather on his persevering industry, his excellent scholarship, and his fine genius, than upon his moral qualities. Buchanan wrote his own Life in Latin two years before his death. To this work, to Mackenzie's 'Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation,' to David Irving's 'Memoirs of his Life,' to the 'Biographia Britannica,' and the numerous authorities on insulated points there quoted, we may refer those who wish to pursue this subject.

There are two collective editions of the works of Buchanan. One is by Ruddiman, published at Edinburgh in 1715, in two vols. folio. The other is by Peter Burman, Lug.-Bat., 1725, in two vols. 4to. In this the editor has, besides his own critical annotations, incorporated the notes, dissertations, &c. of his predecessor.



Is judging of the characters of eminent men it is an excellent practical rule to put aside the opinions that others have expressed of them, and endeavour to form independent ones of our own, by obtaining a plain answer to a plain question—What have they *done*? Thus only can we guard ourselves from the danger of being misled by the mists that men's predilections or dislikes may have raised, and through which, according as the point of sight we choose makes us look upwards or downwards, are the figures we gaze upon apt to appear unduly magnified or diminished. But this rule cannot be always acted upon alone. Peculiar circumstances, such as the sudden and unlooked for termination of an important career, may render it only an act of justice to consider whither that career tended. The light that still casts such a trail of glory behind, extended equally far before—until eclipsed by the impenetrable shadow.

It is thus then we must study the life and character

of Sir Philip Sidney. We ought not to take them upon trust from contemporary opinion, or from the opinion, scarcely less unanimous and enthusiastic, of posterity. To borrow a phrase from his gracious mistress, Sidney would have been the first to express his "foul scorn" of such treatment; but undoubtedly it is necessary, after weighing carefully all that he did, to judge what he would have done had the ordinary term of man's life been granted. But alas! as he says, it too often happens that the

"noble gold down to the bottom goes,
When worthless cork, aloft, doth floating lie."

Sidney died in his *thirty-third* year. A brief life; yet let us see what he accomplished in it: the facts are among the most instructive lessons ever bequeathed to the world.

Sidney himself in the 'Arcadia,' and Ben Jonson in one of his poems, have given us delightful pictures of an old and noticeable manor-house. The former says the house "was built of fair and strong stone, not affecting so much any extraordinary kind of fineness as an honorable representing of a firm stateliness. The lights, doors, and windows, rather directed to the use of the guest than to the eye of the artificer, and yet as the one [was] chiefly heeded, so [was] the other not neglected; each place, handsome without curiosity, and homely without loathsomeness; not so dainty as not to be trod upon, nor yet slubbered up with good fellowship; all more lasting than beautiful, but that the consideration of the exceeding lastingness made the eye believe it was exceedingly beautiful." There can be no doubt that this is the same place as the one described by Jonson; which was not

"built to envious show
Of touch or marble,"

but an ancient and revered pile, whose beauty consisted in its surrounding soil, air, wood, and water, which had its walks for health as well as sport, and the mount where the Dryads resorted, and

“Where Pan and Bacchus their high feasts have made,
Beneath the broad beech and the chesnut shade.”

The attractive character of the scenery without was but a type of the hospitality within. In that mansion they “knew,” says Sidney, “that *provision* is the foundation of *hospitality*, and *thrift* the fuel of *magnificence* ;” hence the extent of the buildings, and the grand scale of all the arrangements ; hence the admirable system of management, that knew no waste. And here every guest might feel himself at home—might eat and drink and enjoy himself, without fear. Here too old customs were preserved in all their simplicity and kindliness. Here, for instance, the tenants, according to Jonson, would come in, the farmer and the clown,

“And no one empty handed, to salute
The lord and lady, though they have no suit.
Some bring a capon, some a rural cake,
Some nuts, some apples ; some that think they make
The better cheeses bring ’em ;—or else send
By their ripe daughters, whom they would commend
This way to husbands, and whose baskets bear
An emblem of themselves, in plum or pear.”

In that mansion too all its numerous residents were bound together, high and low, by the faith and practice of a common creed. Thus the poet says of the children of its lord,

“They are and have been taught religion ; thence
Their gentler spirits have suck’d innocence :
Each morn and even they are taught to pray
With the whole household.”

And that was the mansion in which Philip Sidney was born, on the 29th of November, 1554 ; that was the household and the kind of life amid which his earlier years were passed, and by which, to a certain extent, his character was moulded. It is Penshurst of which Jonson and himself both speak.

To be born in the midst of such genial influences was an advantage of no ordinary character : but it was much more to have such a father as the then lord of Penshurst,

Sir Henry Sidney, a man of "excellent natural wit, large heart, and sweet conversation:" and whose ability as a statesman was put to the severest possible test by Elizabeth when she conferred upon him the government of Ireland, and he passed honourably through the ordeal: Edmund Spenser was but one among the many who bore testimony to the wisdom of his rule. Add, to the qualifications here evidenced, the deepest love for and pride in his son, and we may judge how unwearied must have been the care and how potential the guidance that Sir Henry Sidney exercised over the future poet-hero of England. A letter of his still exists that was written to Philip in 1566, whilst he was at school at Shrewsbury, which is admirable for the spirit and the sterling character of its advice. And if ever father had his reward, he had it. The seed fell upon no barren soil. Already the boy of twelve years old was distinguished for his intelligence and for a gravity beyond his years; and from this time we shall find him constantly addressing himself, step by step, to the great business of self-culture, and of worldly duty and occupation; seduced by no temptations, deterred by no difficulties, enduring with cheerful patience the utmost severities of intellectual or physical toil. Of course, the first step is to master what other men have already mastered, and can usefully teach. He goes to the University in 1569; he becomes a member of Christ Church, Oxford, and begins immediately to "cultivate the whole circle of arts and sciences; his capacious and comprehensive mind aspiring to pre-eminence in every part of knowledge attainable by human industry or genius." And the gigantic character of the attempt was triumphantly justified by the result. An interesting glimpse of Sidney at the University has been given us by Carew, the historian of Cornwall, who says, "being a scholar at Oxford, of fourteen years of age, and three years' standing, upon a wrong conceived opinion touching my sufficiency, I was then called to dispute *extempore* with the matchless Sir Philip Sidney, in presence of the Earls of Leicester and Warwick, and divers other great personages." The Earl of Leicester, who

was the High Chancellor of the University, was Philip's uncle. Three years soon passed, and Philip Sidney had then nothing more to learn that colleges could teach him.

What next?—The continental tour, of course. He must see personally the countries and the people with whom he may in after life have so much to do, whether in peace or in war. He would see, too, the great men of whom he had heard as the chief continental ornaments of letters. Above all, he would learn whatever there may be to learn, by moving among persons of different religious, political, and social views and customs; and so modify, at least, by the larger experience of the man of the world, the narrow and self-sufficient ideas that are apt to occupy the mind and guide the conduct of "home-keeping youth." Sidney set out for the Continent at a critical and dangerous time. Whilst he was at Paris the great massacre of St. Bartholomew took place; and he was compelled, as a Protestant, to seek the shelter of the house of the English ambassador, Sir Francis Walsingham, a gentleman to whom he had been introduced by the Earl of Leicester, and whose daughter he subsequently married. As yet, however, that connection was undreamt of. Another, and more absorbing and eventful one, was to be first formed and broken, and the poet's peace of mind well-nigh shipwrecked in the severance. From France he proceeded to Belgium, Germany, Hungary, and Italy, making friends everywhere he went, among whom may be named Hubert Languet, who addressed a volume of letters to him; the brother of Sir Edward Wotton; and above all, if some writers whose authority is not very highly estimated are to be believed, Tasso.

During this tour he prepared himself for the development of another phase of his many-sided character. Whilst at Vienna he studied and practised all those personal exercises that were requisite for success in the tilt-yard or in the battle-field. We learn from the commencement of his 'Defence of Poesy,' that he met with an enthusiast in these matters at the emperor's court, one Gio. Pietro Pugliano, an equerry of the

royal household, who taught Sidney and Edward Wotton horsemanship; "and he, according to the fertility of the Italian wit, did not only afford us the demonstration of his practice, but sought to enrich our minds with the contemplation therein, which he thought most precious. But with none, I remember, mine ears were at any time more laden, than when (either angered with slow payment or moved with our learner-like admiration) he exercised his speech in the praise of his faculty. He said, soldiers were the noblest estate of mankind, and horsemen the noblest of soldiers. He said they were the masters of war and ornaments of peace, speedy goers and strong abiders, triumphers both in camp and courts: nay, to so unbelievably a point he proceeded, as that no earthly thing had such wonder to a prince as to be a good horseman; skill of government was but a *Pedanteria* in comparison. Then would he add certain praises by telling what a fearless beast the horse was, the only serviceable courtier, without flattery, the beast of most beauty, faithfulness, courage, and much more, that if I had not been a piece of a logician before I came to him, I think he would have persuaded me to have wished myself a horse." Sidney however did not do that,—he did not even take into his heart his teacher's notions of the soldier's inestimable and transcendent value; what he did was this—he made himself a perfect horseman and soldier, as he knew such accomplishments were indispensably necessary; but for the rest of Gio. Pietro Pugliano's many "words," their only effect was to teach Sidney that "self-love is better than any gilding, to make that seem gorgeous wherein ourselves be parties." Altogether, it is evident, Sidney had good reason to be satisfied with his continental journey; and thus three years more passed over; and he returned to England in 1575. It was probably not very long after this, that Sir Henry had occasion to write another of his letters of advice; but it was a younger brother of Philip, Henry, who was the recipient. And how does the father direct this son into the best paths for the attainment of knowledge and virtue? "Follow," he writes, "the advice of

your most loving brother, who in loving you is comparable with me, or exceedeth me. Imitate his virtues, exercises, studies, and actions. He is a rare ornament of his age ; the very formula that all well-disposed young gentlemen of the court do form also their manners and life by. In truth I speak it without flattery of him, or myself, he hath the most virtues that I ever found in any man." This is, we presume, without known exception, the most striking testimony ever given by a father to the excellences of a son. And it may show us what the character and attainments of Philip Sidney were, before any sufficient earnest of them were given to the world ; before, in short, he had *done* anything that would be thought of, by the men of a later generation. In connection with the subject of the letter just mentioned, we may observe in passing, that there is preserved at Penshurst, a picture by Gerard, of an exceedingly interesting kind, representing Philip and Robert Sidney standing side by side, their arms linked together ; the former looking the Protector, and the latter the Protected, to the very life.

And now, as this letter shows us, Sidney had, after most comprehensive preparations, plunged into the world, and was already a courtier, winning the same kind of golden opinions that had everywhere followed him before, and which had even preceded him to the court of Elizabeth ; where it was seen with surprise that the young Atlas of learning did not stoop with his burden, but was, on the contrary, one of the most airy, graceful, and in every way accomplished persons that had ever graced a court, or turned all the heads of the gentlemen with envy or jealousy, and of the ladies with admiration, near akin to love. He was soon the "My Philip" of the virgin queen, that being the mode Elizabeth adopted to distinguish him from a very different personage, Philip of Spain, the husband of her deceased sister Queen Mary.

In a single touch Sidney has described himself in the 'Arcadia,' while aiming to describe another, whom he characterises as possessing "high erected thought, seated

in a heart of courtesy." The court could best appreciate the "heart of courtesy;" but what Sidney desired was worthy employment for the "high erected thought:" so he was speedily employed. He was sent to Vienna upon an honourable but not very important mission; then returned, and presently astonished every one, from the queen downwards, by his remonstrance against the proposed marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou,—a measure that Catherine de Medicis of France was very anxious to carry into effect, but which was looked upon with dread and horror by the Protestant people of this country.

The remonstrance has been admired for its unusual elegance of expression, as well as for its force of reasoning, by one who was a consummate master in both qualities—Hume. But the patriotic character of the act itself is the grand thing to reflect upon. For expressing such views many persons were imprisoned, and some mutilated; and, if Sidney had no reason to fear that matters would be carried to such extremities with him, he had, what men generally would call, overwhelming motives for holding his peace: to mention but one, it was exceedingly probable that he was closing for ever against him the palace doors, and all that lay beyond, as state honours, public employment, reputation. Nevertheless the remonstrance was made; and such was the respect, love, and admiration that the queen seems to have felt for him, that she received it patiently, as though coming from one who could not have intended to wound or to injure her. Sidney has said in the 'Arcadia,' "Men are loving creatures, when injuries put them not from their natural course." Assuredly he at least (perhaps because of his own love) almost ever found it so. It will be acknowledged that something had now been done; but it was to be speedily followed by a much more important achievement.

Sidney, it appears, had never learnt, among all his acquirements, that there was any essential difference between a mere gentleman like himself, and one who might happen to have his gentility crowned by the coronet of the

nobleman ; so one day, whilst playing at tennis in the palace court, not liking the behaviour of the Earl of Oxford, he resented it in a very spirited and fearless manner. The quarrel grew violent, and Elizabeth was obliged to interfere in order to prevent a recourse to arms ; but as Sidney did not receive the satisfaction he thought he had a right to expect, and was deaf to all that his royal mistress could urge as to difference of rank, he withdrew from the court, buried himself in the delightful solitudes of Wilton, the seat of the Earl of Pembroke, and began the ' Arcadia.' He has himself narrated who it was that advised him to undertake this task, and in what manner it was executed. In the dedication of the ' Arcadia' to his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, the subject of Jonson's famous epitaph, he says—

“ Here now have you (most dear, and most worthy to be dear, lady !) this idle work of mine, which I fear, like the spider's web, will be thought fitter to be swept away, than worn to any other purpose. For my part, in very truth (as the cruel fathers among the Greeks were wont to do to the babes they would not foster), I could well find in my heart to cast out in some desert of forgetfulness this child, which I am loth to father. But you desired me to do it, and your desire to my heart is an absolute commandment. Now, it is done only for you, only to you : if you keep it to yourself, or commend it to such friends who will weigh errors in the balance of good will, I hope, for the father's sake, it will be pardoned, perchance made much of, though in itself it have deformities. For, indeed, for severer eyes it is not ; being but a trifle, and that triflingly handled. Your dear self can best witness the manner, being done in loose sheets of paper, most of it in your presence, the rest by sheets sent unto you as fast as they were done.”

And how shall we describe the nature of the work thus written—this most popular of all romances, in its day, and which, though now neglected, better deserves attention than nineteen out of every twenty of the works of fiction that are read and called popular for a brief time, then die, and are forgotten ? The happiest description

of it we have met with is that given by the author of the *Life of Sidney*, that is prefixed to his works (fourteenth edition, 1725), who says, “the ‘*Arcadia*’ is a continual *grove* of morality, shadowing moral and politick results under the plain and easy emblems of lovers;” who are for ever wandering to and fro in this “grove,” experiencing all sorts of adventures. The ‘*Arcadia*’ is, in short, a prose pastoral, with a latent—and, on the whole, perhaps, much too latent—application to the affairs of the world, and especially to that portion of it which Sidney most desired to see become Arcadian in simplicity, virtue, and happiness. It is tedious to read as a whole; all pastorals are (unless it be that pretty “Newgate pastoral”—‘*The Beggar’s Opera*,’ of which Swift speaks), and much of it, indeed, seems written as an exercise. Thus we have poetical pieces interspersed, of every different species—eclogues—songs—sapphics—epitaphs—and one epithalamium—tales; thus we have verses of all possible diversity as to length of feet and number of lines. But through the whole run veins of the purest ores of poesy, wisdom, and a truly startling knowledge of man and men, considering the youth of the author. You cannot glance over the pages in the most hurried manner, but you see them rising at frequent intervals to the surface, and presenting some bright and beautiful fancy, or some weighty and elevated thought, calculated at once to gladden and to enrich the wayfarer. A coward is one “whose faith could never comprehend the mysteries of courage.” On the same subject he has in verse,

“Pain is more pain than is the pain it fears.”

A certain governor is “not of the modern minds, who made suitors magistrates; but did ever think the *unwilling worthy man* were fitter than the *undeserving desirer*.” We may learn from this remark, in what spirit Sidney was prepared to govern, should opportunity be ever afforded to him. In the following passages we may discover something of the principles that actuated him through life, and made him an illustrious and a happy man: “Whoever in great things will think to prevent all ob-

jections, must lie still and do nothing." Elsewhere he observes the "highest point outward things can bring us unto, is the contentment of the mind; with which, no estate—without which, all estates—be miserable." And yet again—"They are never alone, said I, that are accompanied with noble thoughts." As to his knowledge of the world, let a couple of touches suffice:—"Who prayeth his servants, shall never be well obeyed." There is "nothing more terrible to a guilty heart, than the eye of a respected friend."

It might be said of the 'Arcadia,' that for the most part the prose is poetry, and the poetry prose; but there are, notwithstanding, exquisite things among the verses, as for example,

"If the spheres senseless do yet hold a music,
If the swan's voice be not heard but as death,
If the mute timber when it hath the life lost
Yieldeth a lute's tone."

Do not the following passages recall to the reader's mind a strain of well-known poetic music, that seems to half repeat and wholly to have been suggested by them? "Her breath is more sweet than a gentle south-west wind, which comes creeping over *flowery fields*, and shadowed waters in the extreme heat of summer." Her "jacinth hair, curled by nature but intercurled by art, like a fine brook through golden sands, had a rope of fine pearl, which now hiding, now hidden by the hair, did as it were play at fast and loose each with other, mutually *giving and receiving richness*."

But of all the contents of the 'Arcadia,' the most extraordinary is the prayer put into the mouth of one of the characters, which we know not how otherwise to describe than by saying that it is perhaps the noblest appeal ever made by man unto his Maker, and from its very earnestness, solemnity, and grandeur, strangely out of place in such an unreal atmosphere. Milton said the prayer in the book attributed to Charles I., the 'Eikon Basilike,' was stolen from it.

But there was probably an object dearer to the heart

of Sidney than any we have yet mentioned, when he sat down to write the 'Arcadia;' and that was to embody in the discourses of the lovers the ebbings and flowings of his own passion for the lady whom he has immortalized in a series of beautiful poems, under the name of Stella, and who appears in the 'Arcadia' as Philoclea. This was Lady Penelope Devereux. She has been painted by Sidney in colours that belong only to the poet-lover. Of "her hair," for instance, he says, "alas! too poor a word, why should I not rather call them her beams?" And in another part he thus playfully describes the condition in which the lover of Philoclea is placed:—"The force of love to these poor folk, that feel it, is many ways very strange, but no way stranger than that it doth so enchain the lover's judgment upon her that holds the reins of his mind, that whatsoever she doth is ever in his eyes the best. . . . If she sits still, that is best, for so is the conspiracy of her several graces held best together to make one perfect figure of beauty. If she walk, no doubt that is best, for, besides she making happy the more places by her steps, the very stirring adds a pleasing life to her native perfections. If she be silent, that without comparison is best, since by that means the untroubled eye most freely may devour the sweetness of his object. But if she speak, he will take it upon his death that is best, the quintessence of each word being distilled down into his affected soul." But whilst there are many indications of Sidney's position as a lover to be found in the 'Arcadia,' they are too distant and uncertain to be much relied on; it is in that charming collection of sonnets entitled 'Astrophel and Stella' that we must look for the means to trace the entire progress and issue of this passion; and for what has since become of infinitely greater importance—the materials with which to determine the true height and breadth of Sidney's poetic reputation. A kindred spirit has written,

"Poets are cradled into wrong;
They learn in sufferance what they teach in song;"

and there can be little doubt that, though in the progress of this connection Sidney knew all the usual alternations of the lover—now raised in his hopes to the stars, now sunk to the deepest abysses of gloom—there was on the whole a sad preponderance of “sufferance.” Throughout these sonnets he assumes a more earnest, as well as in every way a more powerful and elevated tone. The first sonnet expresses his own consciousness of this in a very charming manner; it also shows the lover-like object he had in view in the composition of the series:—

“Loving in truth, and fain in verse my love to show,
That she, dear she, might take some pleasure of my pain,
Pleasure might cause her read, reading might make her
know,

Knowledge might pity win, and pity grace obtain :
I sought fit words to paint the blackest face of woe,
Studying inventions fine, her wits to entertain—
Oft turning others’ leaves, to see if thence would flow
Some fresh and fruitful showers upon my sun-burn’d brain :
But words came halting forth, wanting invention’s stay,
Invention, Nature’s child, fled step-dame Study’s blows .
And others’ feet still seem’d but strangers in my way.
Thus great with child to speak, and helpless in my throes,
Biting my truant pen, beating myself for spite ;—
Fool ! said my Muse to me, look in thy heart, and write.”

He did so ; and England in consequence received a precious storehouse of the most exquisite thoughts and fancies, set in verse, that is for the most part of unsurpassable excellence. What was the true character of the obstacles that beset the course of the poet’s love, is buried to a certain extent in obscurity ; but it is hardly more than the lady’s subsequent history warrants to say,—that they must have chiefly consisted in her inability to appreciate as he deserved the man who, enjoying universal admiration, made it his utmost ambition to throw himself at her feet. Not but what she could see the grace and beauty of his person—hear and be pleased with the continual voice of praise that was raised in his favour—nay, she could hardly even avoid some

consciousness of his lofty excellences of mind and character, were it only by seeing them everywhere reflected back upon her by the opinions of others who were the most worthy to give an opinion; but there seems to have ended all Lady Devereux's sympathy with or understanding of the man, whose love might have made the noblest of earthly women proud, and whose powers have conferred upon her immortality. It is painful to think that one who could listen at all, and apparently at times with more than tolerance to Sidney, should have felt so little the pathos of these lines, or have been struck so little by the responsibility they threw upon her:—

“For since mad *March* great promise made of me,
If now the *May* of my years must decline,
What can be hop'd my harvest-time will be?”

We learn from one sonnet (xxiii.) that his pensiveness attracted attention, and that all sorts of guesses were thrown out as to the cause; some, he says, and the remark gives us a glimpse of the popular appreciation of his character—some,

“Because the Prince my service tries,
Think that I think state-errors to redress.”

In another sonnet he remarks that his dark abstracted guise—his seeming

“most alone in greatest company,
With dearth of words, or answers quite awry,”

are attributed to the foul poison of pride. And in yet a third he runs over all the questions that are put to him relating to the great foreign political questions of the time, as—

“How Ulster likes of that same golden bit
Wherewith my father once made it half tame,” &c.;

but in all these cases he laughs at the speculations and the inquirers, and turns everything still to the service, that glorification of his mistress. And did ever reputation lover more exquisitely express his reproaches, ⁱⁿ he refers treatment than in the following sonnet, ^{it} falleth out, space will permit us to quote entire?—

"With how sad steps, O Moon, thou climb'st the skies,
 How silently, and with how wan a face!
 What,—may it be, that even in heavenly place
 That busy archer his sharp arrows tries?
 Sure, if that long, with love-acquainted eyes,
 Can judge of Love, thou feel'st a lover's case,
 I read it in thy looks, thy languish'd grace,
 To me, that feel the like, thy state describes.
 Then even of fellowship, O Moon, tell me
Is constant love deem'd there but want of wit?
Are beauties there as proud as here they be?
Do they above love to be lov'd, and yet
Those lovers scorn, whom that love doth possess?
Do they call virtue there—ungratefulness?"

We need not seek further for a full comprehension of the relations of Sidney and the Lady Penelope Devereux. As usual in such cases—the ever-impending blow was struck at last—Sidney's mistress married another, a man for whom it should seem she had herself—subsequently—no respect. After the first shock, the connection appears to have been renewed, with no other result—we might almost say with no other object on the part of Stella, now Lady Rich,—than to feed the vanity of the one party, and the anguish of the other. Most painfully evident in some of the sonnets are the attempts made by the poet to rise superior to the unnatural position in which he found himself, to set at rest the struggle between his desires and his conscience, and be intent thenceforth to show

"Service and honour, wonder with delight,
 Fear to offend, well worthy to appear;
 Care shining in mine eyes, faith in my sprite:
 These things are left me by my only dear."

Embarrassed by excess of wealth, we hardly know how to discontinue our selections from the poetical sonnets of this period: so sad a one on the whole to could see so full of matter for congratulation, in a literary pleased wit is fellow-men. Let then this be the last—in in his favour, turning ever his mistress's worst faults & pleasant and delightful for his imagination

to rest upon, thus explains why it is his complaints are not received as they should be by her to whom they are addressed —

“ I much do guess, yet find no truth, save this,—
That when the breath of my complaints doth touch
Those dainty doors unto the court of bliss,
The heavenly nature of the place is such
That once come there, the sobs of mine annoys
Are metamorphosed straight to tunes of joys.”

In these snatches from the poet's fuller song, many no doubt will see, like ourselves, that Shakspeare's were not the only “sugar'd sonnets” produced in the sixteenth century. Truly Sidney was now *doing* in genuine earnest.

And notwithstanding the nature and end of the influences that thus developed the poet's powers, being developed, the poet—as apart from the lover—went on his way rejoicingly. Not long, after all, did he allow this ill-assorted passion to bend him beneath its storms. In 1581 was written the ‘Defence of Poesy,’ the noblest work on one of the noblest of subjects that exists in any language. It is but the simple truth to state, that “nothing more can be said upon the cause which it advocates; and what is said is placed in such a point of view, and expressed in so happy a manner, as to leave nothing to desire.” (‘Penny Cyclopædia,’ article “Sidney.”) Many who are familiar with the name and reputation of this work may not perhaps be aware that its production was as well timed as it was effective. It seems truly extraordinary to state that the period which produced Spenser, Sidney, Shakspeare, and his brother dramatists, should be one in which the *general* estimation of the divine art was very low; but there is no resisting Sidney's direct statements to that effect. He says in one place, that it is “fallen to be the laughing-stock of children;” in another, he speaks of its being “thrown down to the ridiculous in estimation;” in a third, that the poets of England are “almost in as good reputation as the mountebanks at Venice.” Then, again, he refers to certain “poet-whippers,” with whom it falleth out,

as "with some good women, who often are sick, but in faith they cannot tell where." Lastly, he enumerates the high crimes and misdemeanors charged against the poets, which, it appears, consist in their drawing away the attention from more "fruitful knowledges;" that it is the mother of lies, that it is the "nurse of abuse, infecting us with many pestilent devices, with a Syren sweetness, drawing the mind to the serpent's tail of sinful fancies;" and, above all, that Plato banished them out of his commonwealth. It is too late in the day to notice, for the purpose of answering, such charges; but it is in no slight degree owing to Sidney's labours that we have not still some such necessity imposed upon us.

In the course of his work Sidney compares the poet with men in all the other chief walks of learning and intellectual manifestation, and even with Nature itself. Our only quotation must be from the part that contains this last-named parallel: "Neither let it be deemed too saucy a comparison, to balance the highest point of man's wit with the efficacy of nature; but rather give right honour to the *Heavenly Maker of that maker*, who having made man to his own likeness, set him beyond, and over all the works of that second Nature, which in nothing he showed so much as in poetry, when with the force of a divine breath he bringeth things forth surpassing her doings, with no small arguments to the incredulous of the first accursed fall of Adam, *since our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is, and yet our infected will keepeth us from reaching unto it.*" Sidney, be it remembered, was now but in his twenty-seventh year.

In 1583 the poet married the daughter of his friend Sir Francis Walsingham. Many, no doubt, addressed him in heart, if not in actual words, upon the occasion, after the style of his own Epithalamium in the 'Arcadia:'

"Virtue, if not a God, yet God's chief part,—

— Be thou the knot of this their open vow,
 — That still he be her head, and she his heart:" &c.

but unhappily, neither past circumstances nor the lady's mind and character seem to have admitted of any such

result. No real happiness appears to have resulted from the union. As to Stella, after all her prudery with Sidney, she lived to excite the tongue of scandal by her unfortunate connection with the Earl of Devonshire. Public scenes and occupations now began to reopen upon the poet. On his former ambassadorial visit to Vienna, he had established a friendship with Prince Casimir; he was now chosen by the prince to act as his proxy, on his installation into the order of the Knights of the Garter. Elizabeth, glad no doubt to see him back again to court, knighted him, and thus plain Philip became Sir Philip Sidney. About the same time he entered into a political controversy with Parsons, the Jesuit, who had attacked his uncle, the Earl of Leicester. But it was not thus Sidney's chivalrous spirit desired to expend that portion of his life which he had determined to devote to the public service. He evidently pined for a field that would enable the already distinguished man of letters to achieve an equally high distinction as a man of action. At last, when Drake's second expedition was fitted out against the Spanish West Indies, in 1585, Sidney's impatience could no longer brook delay; so making his preparations with all possible secrecy, to prevent Elizabeth from stopping him, he succeeded in joining Drake at Plymouth, just before he was about to embark. But Elizabeth was too sharp for him. The truant was caught and effectually stayed at the last moment, by a royal mandate which threatened the queen's high displeasure if he proceeded, but promised him immediate employment, under his uncle the Earl of Leicester, if he returned to the court. Certainly this was the most complimentary act of despotism upon record; and accompanied, according to report, by equally complimentary words. It is said the queen was in a great fright lest she should "lose the jewel of her dominions." But what even was this to the offer of a crown—that of Poland—which Fuller says was made to him, and *declined*? The poet Lee also says, he was so "most extravagantly great, that he refused to be a king."

Elizabeth kept her word. Sidney was appointed

governor of Flushing in 1585. Spain and Holland were then at war ; England being in close alliance with the latter. The field for action was now daily widening upon his view at every step he took, when, to the sudden and universal grief of Europe, he was struck down before he had reached in years even the prime of manhood. Sidney had already obtained some considerable successes against the enemy ; but one day his forces accidentally encountered a body of three thousand men who were marching to relieve Zutphen, a town of Guelderland : and there, under the walls, the conflict ensued that was to invest the name of a previously obscure place with undying interest. Sidney had two horses successively shot under him, but was still pressing on with heroic resolution, when a musket-shot from one of the trenches wounded his left thigh a little above the knee and broke the bone. The injury was fatal, though for some days there was a hope of recovery : and as Sidney has said in the 'Arcadia,' "In extremities the winning of time is the purchase of life ;" would that it could have here proved so ! He died in the arms of Lady Sidney, and of his attached secretary William Temple, on the 7th of October, 1586. He had never desired to make a "perpetual mansion of this poor baiting place of man's life" ('Arcadia') ; but he might have been reasonably expected to have shown how terribly he felt this premature termination to such a magnificent career as that he had run, and which was but the beginning of the mightier one he contemplated ; he was, however, as patient when the time of death came, as though it were not the "time that the wings of night do blow sleep most willingly into mortal creatures." ('Arcadia.')

With that fatal bullet, then, the career of most men would have ended. There would have been nothing more to *do* in which men could have any interest, except that arising from their sympathies with his sufferings—their grief for his loss. It was not so with Sidney. One of the greatest acts of his life was performed after the receipt of his death-wound. No reader but must know to what incident we allude. No reader but must have felt at some time

or other his heart expand with unwonted love for and devotion to his fellow-men, as he read the story of Sidney and the soldier on the bloody field of Zutphen. This story cannot be better told than in the words of him who desired that his own epitaph should state simply that he was the friend of Sidney. Lord Brooke, in describing the progress of the sad procession which bore Sidney to his tent, continues: "Passing along by the rear of the army, where his uncle (Leicester) the general was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for some drink, which was presently brought him; but as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had eaten his last at the same feast, ghastly casting up his eyes at the bottle, which Sir Philip perceiving took it from his head before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man with these words, 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.'"

Never, probably, before or since, did any death cause more universal lamentation. Every one felt that a glory had suddenly passed away from the earth;—yet at the same time every one felt as though he had lost a personal friend: so honoured and so loved was Philip Sidney. A general mourning was observed, the first of the kind, it is believed, in this country. The body lay in state in St. Paul's for many days. A deputation from the United Provinces formed a portion of the mourners at the funeral.

Besides the works specially noticed in the foregoing pages, Sidney wrote a Masque (his first literary attempt), which was exhibited before Elizabeth, and he contributed occasional poems, &c. to various publications.

We have not hitherto dwelt, nor is it now our intention to dwell, on the opinions of Sidney's contemporaries on his poetry or character; they have been repeated so incessantly, that one is apt, before examination, to think that there must be something too much of all this praise—notwithstanding that the praisers include nearly all the most illustrious names in English letters. And if this danger be avoided, we are still liable to another, that of substituting for the real man—the real poet—the real

hero Sidney, such as he was—a kind of dreamy abstraction of him, formed simply of the opinions of his admirers. And certainly that is not the way to make our own admiration of any value. Referring, in conclusion, to the remarks we made in the commencement of this paper, we trust there will be found in these pages a sufficient answer to the question—What has Sir Philip Sidney *done* to deserve such pre-eminent fame?



“THIS Drake,” says Camden, “(to relate no more than what I have heard from himself) was born of mean parentage in Devonshire, and had Francis Russell (afterwards Earl of Bedford) for his godfather, who, according to the custom, gave him his Christian name. Whilst he was yet a child his father, embracing the Protestant doctrine, was called in question by the law of the Six Articles made by Henry VIII. against the Protestants, fled his country, and withdrew himself into Kent.”*

“Thus,” says quaint old Fuller, “did God divide the honour betwixt two counties, that the one might have his birth and the other his education.” The date of his birth is involved in great uncertainty, which has not been cleared up by his latest biographer, who quotes the inscriptions of two portraits, which disagree as to his

* Annals.

age.* The years 1539, 1541, and 1546, not to mention others, have been assigned by different writers; but the safest assertion to make is that he was born somewhere between those extreme periods, and probably about 1542. According to local tradition, Drake first saw the light in an humble cottage on the banks of the Tavy in Devonshire, and not far from South Tavistock. The cottage was demolished some forty years ago, till which time it had remained unchanged; a stall for cattle belonging to the farm-house hard by now stands, or recently stood, upon its site.† Sir Francis Drake, the nephew of the great sea hero and the inheritor of his fortune and honours, in the dedication of the ‘*Voyage Revived*,’ gives some information of the family. He describes the poverty and the persecution for conscience’ sake of the hero’s father. He says, that after his flight into Kent, the good man was constrained to inhabit in the hull of a ship, wherein many of his younger sons were born. He adds, that he had twelve sons in all, and that “as it pleased God to give most of them a being upon the water, so the greatest part of them died at sea: but the youngest, though he went as far as any, yet died at home, whose posterity inherits that which he, by himself, and this noble gentleman the eldest brother (the great Francis), was hardly, yet worthily gotten.”

“After the death of King Henry,” continues Camden, “he (the father) got a place among the seamen in the king’s navy, to read prayers to them; and soon after he was ordained deacon, and made vicar of the church of Upnor upon the river Medway, the road where the fleet usually anchoreth. But by reason of his poverty he put his son to the master of a bark, his neighbour, who used to coast along the shore, and sometimes to carry merchandise into Zealand and France.”

Mr. Barrow has remarked, that there is not now, nor ever was, either church or chapel at Upnor, but that a small castle was built there by Queen Elizabeth to pro-

* John Barrow, Esq., *Life, Voyages, and Exploits of Admiral Sir Francis Drake, &c.* London, 1843.

† Southey, *Lives of the British Admirals.*

tect the anchorage. Yet, no doubt, there was a small chapel in that castle, and in this the father of the great Drake may have been chaplain. Or he may have been vicar of Hoo Church, which stands on the hill just behind Upnor, and which still serves as a parish church to that village. There may be a trifling slip as to a name, but there can be no doubt of Camden's correctness as to the fact that Drake's father held some church preferment in this immediate neighbourhood. He was no doubt a man of considerable acquirements, and one that took pains with the education of his sons. The great Drake, though sent so early to sea, was very far from being an illiterate man. In all times the coasting trade has been considered an admirable school for seamen. This was the training of Drake, as afterwards of Captain Cook. According to Fuller, his first master "held Drake hard to his business; and pains with patience in his youth knit the joints of his soul, and made them more solid and compacted." But, if a hard master in the beginning, the old skipper became very fond of his apprentice. "The youth," says Camden, "being painful and diligent, so pleased the old man by his industry, that, being a bachelor, he at his death bequeathed his bark unto him by will and testament." As master of this craft Drake continued his active and thriving way of life. He had gotten together some little money. At this time Captain Hawkins (afterwards Sir John) another Devonshire man, a bold sailor and a skilful navigator, was fitting out at Plymouth an expedition for the new world. Such expeditions presented irresistible attraction to adventurous seamen, and to many adventurers that were no seamen. There was no conceivable limit to the riches and beauty of the American continent; every man hoped to obtain a fortune by going thither and hitting upon some gold mine. Hawkins had made one or two voyages to the new world before. Drake, who appears to have been previously acquainted with him, resolved to accompany him in his present expedition; so selling his bark, and taking with him all the money and goods he had in the world, he hastened away to Plymouth and joined

Hawkins. Queen Elizabeth had lent one of her ships royal to the general (or admiral, as we should now say). The rest of the squadron, furnished by private speculators, consisted of four ships and two very small vessels. One of these ships, named the *Judith*, was intrusted to the command of Francis Drake, whose skill must have been known and prized by Hawkins, as he was but a young man at the time. The expedition sailed from Plymouth in October, 1567. Its main scope appears to have been to purchase negroes on the coast of Africa, to carry these unfortunate creatures to the West Indies, and there sell them to the Spanish planters. But Hawkins's good fortune forsook him in this his last great adventure. Everything went wrong. First there was a storm off Cape Finisterre, which lasted four days, and greatly damaged the general's ship. Then there was some hard fighting near Cape de Verd, where the negroes would not submit to be made slaves and carried off. Seven or eight men were wounded and died of lock-jaw. "I myself," says the devout Hawkins, "had one of the greatest wounds, yet, thanks be to God, escaped." Farther down the coast, at St. Jorge da Mina, where Hawkins joined a negro king who was making war on a neighbouring black potentate, he had six slain and forty wounded. And (what Hawkins appears to have considered as a still greater misfortune), he was duped and tricked by his ally the negro king, who, after promising him all the prisoners that should be taken, marched off with six hundred of them, and left our Christian general only some two hundred and fifty "men, women, and children." "But," says Hawkins, with virtuous indignation, "in the negro nation is seldom or never found truth." Having chained and embarked all the negroes they could get, our adventurers, who were half slave-dealers and half buccaneers, quitted the coast of Guinea and made for the West Indies. At some islands the Spaniards trafficked with them, giving them gold and silver for their black people; but in other islands they would not engage in this traffic. For this conduct Hawkins determined to punish them. Having landed two

hundred of his men he stormed and took the town of Rio da Hacha, with the loss of two men only. At the port of San Juan d'Ulloa, in the bay of Mexico, they were not quite so fortunate. Hawkins had evidently been joined by a number of buccaneer ships who were practising in those waters without any commission, either from the Queen of England (who was not then at war with Spain) or from any other sovereign or state. He confesses himself that he was more than half inclined to attack a Spanish fleet which came into the bay with specie and bullion on board, to the value of nearly two millions sterling. After he had been for some time in port, he says the English were taken by surprise, and the Spaniards, most perfidiously falling upon them, killed a great number of their men, seized, plundered, and burned three of their ships, making the crews prisoners, and obliged the remainder in the smaller ships to retreat, without provisions or water, and in a most miserable plight. But, according to the relation which Hawkins himself gave to that excellent collector and compiler old Hakluyt, the English did not retreat until they had sunk, or were supposed to have sunk, the Spanish admiral, burned the vice-admiral, and sent another of their chief ships to the bottom—as was believed. Hawkins, however, was obliged to abandon his own ship, the 'Jesus,' of Lubeck, which Queen Elizabeth had lent him; which was of seven hundred tons' burthen, and the only vessel deserving to be called a ship in his squadron; and only the 'Minion' and the 'Judith,' Drake's bark of fifty tons, got safely out of this unlucky bay and most desperate fight. In this disastrous expedition Drake lost all the money he had in the world, and brought a stain upon his reputation which would have been fatal to him if he had lived in more modern times. For he shamefully disobeyed orders, and deserted Hawkins, his superior and his friend, in the hour of need and danger. As we have Hawkins's own solemn and uncontradicted statement to this effect, and as Drake suffered imprisonment for his misconduct, it seems rather strange that Mr. Barrow should suppress the fact and say, that "it is somewhat

remarkable that the name of Drake never once occurs in any of the accounts of this very uninteresting and unfortunate voyage." In the very chapter in which this passage occurs Mr. Barrow himself quotes more than one account of the voyage, in which the name of Drake and the name of his vessel are mentioned, and Hawkins's account must have come under his eye in Hakluyt's book, of which he has made so much use. Southey, who understood his business better than to attempt enhancing the fame of his hero by suppressing or slurring over the truth, has given the facts in a foot note.* Hawkins complained of Drake's "forsaking him in his great misery, and shifting for himself." Herrera, who wrote with the prejudice of a Spaniard against a man who became one of the most formidable enemies Spain ever knew, says that Drake, instead of obeying Hawkins's orders, and waiting for him when he was in his great peril, fled with all the prize-money that had been made, and reaching England reported that Hawkins was lost, and that he had distributed the money among his men, although in reality he (Drake) had kept it all himself. "This," adds Herrera, "was his beginning; and, though the queen kept him three months in prison, she pardoned him upon intercession, and so the matter rested."† This story about the money is probably entirely false; but Drake merited his imprisonment, and something worse, for his disobeying orders and abandoning his friend and superior officer, who, together with his people, suffered incredible hardships before he could get to England. Camden does not mention the imprisonment; but he says that Drake hardly escaped with the loss of all that he had. He, however, showed skilful seamanship, and brought the little 'Judith' safely home; and in those days craft and skill could be pleaded in extenuation of almost every offence falling short of high treason. A chaplain belonging to the queen's fleet comforted Drake with

* Lives of the British Admirals, &c., vol. iii. p. 100, edition of 1834.

† Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firma del Mar Oceano.

the assurance that, as he had been treacherously used by the Spaniards in the Gulf of Mexico, he might lawfully recover in value upon the King of Spain, and repair his losses upon him whenever and wherever he could. Fuller says, "The case was clear in sea-divinity; and few are such infidels as not to believe doctrines which make for their own profit. Whereupon Drake, though a poor private man, undertook to revenge himself on so mighty a monarch, who, not contented that the sun riseth and setteth in his dominions, may seem to desire to make all his own where he shineth." It entered largely into the policy of the virgin-queen to wink at this right of private war, or to encourage her subjects in their private attacks upon the navy and colonies of Spain. Fuller, though a divine, and writing not during her reign, but during the Commonwealth and under Charles II., could not discover anything much amiss in this system, for he looked upon the Spaniards only as Papists, and as such the natural enemies of all good Protestants. "Let us see," he exclaims, "let us now see how a dwarf, standing on the mount of God's providence, may prove an overmatch for a giant!" Being readily joined by a number of sea-adventurers, who mustered among them money enough to fit out a vessel, Drake made two or three voyages to the West Indies, to gain intelligence and learn the navigation of those parts; but Camden adds, that he also got some store of money there "by playing the seaman and the pirate."

In 1570 he obtained a regular commission from Queen Elizabeth, and cruised to still better purpose among the Spanish West India Islands. In 1572—apparently with the same roving commission from the queen, and with the determination of attacking the Spaniards wherever it could be done with hope of success and plunder, albeit there was still no declared war between England and Spain—he sailed again for the Spanish main with the 'Pasha' of Plymouth of 70 tons, and the 'Swan' of the same port, of 25 tons, of which his brother John Drake was captain. The united crews of these two small craft amounted, in men and boys, to seventy-three; "all volun-

tarily assembled, of which the eldest man was fifty, all the rest under thirty; and so divided that there were forty-seven in one ship, and twenty-six in the other, both richly furnished with victuals and apparel for a whole year, and no less heedfully provided of all manner of munition, artillery, stuff and tools, that were requisite for such a man-of-war, in such an attempt, but especially having three dainty pinnaces made in Plymouth, taken asunder all in pieces, and stowed aboard, to be set up as occasion served." * At Port Pheasant, an uninhabited place on the South American coast, Drake landed, built a fort or stockade by felling trees, and began to put his two pinnaces together. The day after his arrival he was joined by a bark from the Isle of Wight, belonging to Sir Edward Horsey, "wherein James Rouse was captain, and John Overy master, with thirty men, of which some had been with our captain (Drake) in the same place the year before. Master Rouse brought in with him a Spanish carvello of Seville, which he had taken the day before, and a shallop with oars, which he had taken at Cape Blanche. "This Captain Rouse, understanding our captain's purpose, was desirous to join in consort with him, and was received on conditions agreed upon between them." † With this insignificant force Drake took and plundered the town of Nombre de Dios, and made great spoils among the Spanish shipping. In leading them to the attack of the king's treasure-house, Drake told his people, "That he had now brought them to the mouth of the Treasury of the World; which if they did not gain, none but themselves were to be blamed." He received a dangerous wound; but this he concealed for a long time, "knowing, if the general's heart stoops, the men's will fail; and that if a bright opportunity once setteth, it seldom riseth again." ‡ To an hidalgo who had a parley with

* Sloane MS., British Museum.

† Drake Revived.

‡ Id. Hakluyt gives another and very different account of this affair at Nombre de Dios, written by one Lopez Vaz,

him after the fight, Drake frankly said—"That he wanted only some of that excellent commodity, gold and silver, which that country yielded, for himself and his company, and that he was resolved, by the help of God, to reap some of the golden harvest, which they (the Spaniards) had got out of the earth, and then sent into Spain to trouble the earth."* After this exploit he proceeded to Carthagena, and there took two Spanish ships, one of which was of two hundred and forty tons, having previously despatched his brother and one Ellis Hixon to examine the river Chagre, which traverses part of the isthmus of Darien, where he had been the year before. After taking other prizes, and sinking the 'Swan' in order to strengthen the crews in the pinnaces, Drake landed, and partially crossing the isthmus of Darien, obtained a view of the great Pacific, an ocean as yet closed to English enterprise, and with his eyes longingly fixed upon its waters, he prayed God to grant him "life and leave once to sail an English ship in those seas." He also implored the Divine assistance to be enabled to make a perfect discovery of the same. "Hereunto," says Camden, "he bound himself with a vow; and from that time forward his mind was pricked on continually night and day to perform his vow." Sir William Davenant, in a whimsical drama, produced and played in the time of Charles II., commemorated these events.

Drake, jun. No English keel hath yet that ocean plowed.

Pedro. If prophecy from me may be allowed,
Renown'd Drake, Heaven does decree
That happy enterprise to thee,
For thou of all the Britons art the first
That boldly durst

a Portuguese. According to this relation, Drake was repulsed at the town, and afterwards plundered a caravan of mules that were bringing gold and silver from Panama. It is very probable that Drake made two attacks on the town, and that he suppressed mention of the first.

* Drake Revived.

This Western World invade ;
 And as thou now art made
 The first to whom that ocean will be shown,
 So to thy Isle thou first shall make it known.*

The adventures which followed were extraordinary and very hazardous. John Drake was killed, being mortally wounded in the belly while attempting to board a Spanish frigate from the pinnaces, and another young man called Richard Allen was slain with him. Six of the company fell sick and died within two or three days, and thirty at a time were very sick of a calenture. "Among the rest, Joseph Drake, another of our captain's brothers, died in our captain's arms of the same disease."† At last Drake shaped his course for England, with his frail barks absolutely loaded and crammed with treasure and plundered merchandise ; and on the 9th of August, 1573, he anchored at Plymouth. It was a Sunday, and the townsfolk were at church ; but when the news spread thither that Drake was come, "there remained few or no people with the preacher ; all running out to witness the blessing of God upon the dangerous adventures and enterprises of the captain, who had spent one year, two months, and some odd days, in this voyage."‡ Or, in the words of one who couples loyalty with religion, "all hastening to see the evidence of God's love and blessing towards our gracious queen and country, by the fruit of our captain's labour and success. SOLI DEO GLORIA."§

Drake, being employed in the interval in the service of the queen in Ireland, was forestalled in the honour of being the first Englishman to sail on the Pacific by one John Oxenham of Plymouth, who had served under him as a common sailor and cook ; but as this man merely floated a "pinnace" on the South Sea in 1575, and was

* The history of Sir Francis Drake, expressed by instrumental and vocal music, and by art of perspective in scenes, &c.—*Sir William Davenant's Works*.

† Sloane MS.

‡ Drake Revived.

§ Sloane MS.

taken by the Spaniards and hanged (together with forty of his comrades) as a pirate at Lima, "being unable to produce any power or commission from the queen," he could scarcely be an object of envy to the "dragon Drake." *

In 1577, under the secret sanction of Elizabeth, Drake departed from Plymouth on another marauding expedition to the Spanish main. Owing to foul weather and other delays he did not fairly quit England until the very end of the year. This time his squadron consisted of five vessels, the largest of which, the 'Pelican' was of a hundred tons, the smallest, the 'Christopher' pinnace, of only fifteen tons. The united crews amounted to a hundred and sixty-four men, *gentlemen* and sailors. Among the *gentlemen* were some young men of noble families, who (not to mention the plunder anticipated) went out to learn the art of navigation. Our old dramatists were only dealing with facts when they represented the court gallants or men of pleasure and dissipation about town looking to a cruise on the Spanish main as a good and honourable means of recruiting their wasted finances.

After many adventures along the coasts of the South American continents, where some of his attacks and surprises were completely successful, Drake and his choice comrades came to Port Julian, on the coast of Patagonia, near the Straits of Magelhaens, where they were much comforted by finding a gibbet standing—a proof that Christian people had been there before them. Drake, during his stay in Port Julian, put to death "Master Doughtie," a gentleman of birth and education, and next in authority or in consideration to the general. This dark story is still involved in much mystery, notwithstanding the laudable endeavours of Southey to rescue the fame of one of our greatest naval heroes from the suspicion of a most foul murder. Mr. Barrow, Drake's latest biographer, has thrown no new light upon the subject. Camden relates the sad story thus:—In this Cape place John Doughtie, an industrious and stout
the MSS. in

* Hakluyt.

the next unto Drake, was called to his trial for raising a mutiny in the fleet, found guilty by twelve men, after the English manner, and condemned to death, which he suffered undauntedly, being beheaded, having first received the holy communion with Drake. And, indeed, the most impartial persons in the fleet were of opinion that he had acted seditiously; and that Drake cut him off as an emulator of his glory, and one that regarded not so much who he himself excelled in commendations for sea matters, as who he thought might equal him. Yet wanted there not some, who, pretending to understand things better than others, gave out that Drake had in charge from Leicester to take off Doughtie, upon any pretence whatsoever, because he had reported abroad that the Earl of Essex* was made away by the cunning practices of Leicester.

A story told by Drake's nephew and namesake about a plan entertained by Doughtie to create a mutiny and murder the general or admiral has been rejected with the contempt it merits, for it injures the case by attempting to prove too much, and it contains some things which are altogether incredible. Mr. Francis Fletcher, "preacher and pastor of the fleet at that time" (even the Buccaneers were a God-fearing race, and liked always to have a chaplain or two with them), has left a written account of

* This Earl of Essex was Walter Devereux, father of Elizabeth's last favourite, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, beheaded and attainted in 1600. Earl Walter undertook to subdue and colonize the turbulent Irish district of Clanhu-boy: he went to Ireland in 1573, met with little success, was badly seconded or was thwarted by the jealous court of England, where the Earl of Leicester was then paramount; and he died at Dublin in 1576, suspecting himself that he was poisoned. Southey says that it is as certain as any such fact can be, at such a distance of time, that Essex was not poisoned. Camden does not say that he was: that

* and judicious writer only says that "He was made mental^y the cunning practices of Leicester;" and leaving &c.—*S*ining altogether out of the question, there is pretty much to show that Essex was ruined by the jealous, and malignant favourite.

“this bloody tragedy,” as he himself calls it. The chaplain speaks very cautiously ; but he does not appear to have believed in any great guilt in Doughtie. He says that the origin of the dislike against him was in the outward voyage, upon occasion of taking a Portuguese prize (the sort of subject upon which these adventurers were continually quarrelling), but that “now more dangerous matter and of greater weight is laid to his charge, and that by the same persons, namely, for words spoken by him to them, being in England, in the general’s garden in Plymouth, long before our departure thence, which had been their parts and duties to have discovered them at that time, and not to have concealed them for a time and place not so fitting ; but how true it was wherewith they charged him upon their oaths, I know not ; but he utterly denied it, upon his salvation, at the hour of communicating the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, at the hour and moment of his death, affirming that he was innocent of such things whereof he was accused, judged, and suffered death for. Of whom I must needs testify the truth for the good things of God I found in him, in the time we were conversant, and especially in the time of his afflictions and trouble, till he yielded up the spirit to God ; I doubt not to immortality. He feared God, he loved his word, and was always desirous to edify others, and conform himself to the faith of Christ.” Fletcher goes on to describe Doughtie as a very accomplished person. “For his qualities, in a man of his time, they were rare, and his gifts very excellent for his age : a sweet orator, a pregnant philosopher, a good gift for the Greek tongue, and a reasonable taste of Hebrew ; a sufficient secretary to a noble personage of great place, and in Zealand an approved soldier ; and not behind many in the study of the law for his time.” * We leave the story in the same obscurity in which we found it.

On the 20th of August 1578, Drake reached Cape

* Certified copy of Fletcher’s MS. in the Sloane MSS. in British Museum.

Virgenes, and began to sail through the Strait of Magelhaens, being the third navigator who performed that most difficult passage. On the 6th of September he cleared the Strait and entered the Pacific, which he found rough and turbulent above measure. A tempest, which for fifty days never ceased, drove our daring navigator far to the south and to the extremity of the land which has since been named "Cape Horn." Thus he was enabled to displace the old terra incognita from a considerable portion of the space which it had previously occupied in maps and charts. "We altered the name," says Fletcher the chaplain, "to *Terra nunc bene cognita* (or land now well known)." Drake went ashore, and leaning over the face of a jutting promontory, as far as he could, he came back and told his sailors that now he had been farther south than any man living. On the 30th of October the wind fell fair and moderate; and our adventurers sailed towards the north-west, running pleasantly along the shores of the South American continent, and keeping a good look-out for prizes, whether on sea or on land. Having obtained an immense booty by plundering the Spanish towns on the coasts of Chili and Peru, and by taking, among many other vessels, a royal galleon called the 'Cacafuego,' richly laden with plate, he sailed to the north in the hope of finding a passage back to the Atlantic a little above California. He, in short, went in quest of the north-east passage. He reached latitude 48° N.; but there the extreme severity of the cold discouraged his men, and so putting back 10° he took shelter in Port San Francisco. After staying five weeks in this port Drake boldly determined to follow the example of Magelhaens, and steer across the Pacific for the Moluccas. He had gone through the winding and, in many places, narrow and most difficult Strait of Magelhaens without any chart or guide whatsoever; but he was so fortunate as to obtain from the master of a trading ship, from Panama to the Philippine islands, a sea-card which showed him the track across the Pacific. He made Ternate, one of the Moluccas, and the capital of that group, in safety, and thence set his course for Java.

His sea-card had now long ceased to be of any use ; yet he steered through unknown seas, through an intricate navigation among rocks and islands and without a pilot. Among the Celebes his ship struck upon the point of one of those coral reefs which so abound in those seas ; but at the ebb of tide she fell over on one side, slipped off from the ledge, and floated into deep water. From Java Drake sailed right across the Indian Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, which he doubled without accident, or, in the words of an original narrator in Hakluyt—" We ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portingals (Portuguese) most false, who affirmed that it is the most dangerous cape in the world, never without intolerable storms and present danger to travellers which come near the same." He put into Sierra Leone, and stayed there two days taking in water and procuring oysters and fruit. He arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of September 1580, after an absence of two years, ten months, and some odd days, during which he had circumnavigated the globe, and spent many months on the almost unknown south-western coasts of America. Of his five ships he had brought back with him only one ; but Captain John WINTER, who had deserted him, had arrived with his vessel long before, causing it to be believed by the good people of Plymouth that Drake had perished at sea or in some heavy fight with the Spaniards. Of the adventurers who had quitted Plymouth with him, many besides Doughtie had found a grave on the solitary shore or in the deep sea ; but such as returned with him spoke favourably of the attention he had bestowed upon their health and comfort. On first getting within the tropical regions he had bled all the people with his own hand. Francis Fletcher the chaplain much applauds " the great experience of our general, who had often himself proved the force of the burning zone, and whose advice always prevailed much to the preserving of a moderate temper in our constitutions."

The Devonshire circumnavigator and hero was received with transports of joy by the people of Plymouth. The day of his arrival was spent in feasting and rejoicing,

with bell-ringing from morning till night. The very next day he made a happy pilgrimage to the poor cottage near Tavistock, in which he was born, and in which his father had suffered religious persecution as well as poverty. Drake was now rich—his ship was filled with gold, silver, silk, pearls, and precious stones. “The news,” says honest Stow, “of this his great wealth so far fetched was miraculous strange, and of all men held impossible and incredible; but both proving true, it fortuneed that many misliked it and reproached him: besides all this there were others that devised and divulged all possible disgraces against Drake and his followers, deeming him the master-thief of the unknown world; yet nevertheless, the people generally, with exceeding admiration, applauded his wonderful long adventures and rich prize.”

After letting a few months pass that appearances might be preserved, and that her people might have time to declare their own feelings and opinions, and make them known to the world, the queen summoned the circumnavigator to London. Drake was most graciously received at court, and Elizabeth now asserted more firmly her right of navigating the ocean in all its parts, and denied the exclusive right which the Spaniards claimed over the seas and lands of the new world. From this time she herself aspired to

“The large command of waters and of isles.”*

And though the queen yielded so far as to pay a considerable sum out of the treasure Drake had brought home to the procurator of certain foreign merchants who urged (and not without reason) that they had been unjustly robbed, enough was left to make it a profitable adventure for the privateers. At her orders Drake’s ship was drawn up in a little creek near Deptford, there to be preserved as a monument of the most memorable voyage that the English had ever yet performed. On the 4th of April 1581, “Her Majesty dining at Deptford, after

* Ben Jonson—Neptune’s Triumph.

dinner entered the ship which Captain Drake had so happily guided round about the world, and being there, a bridge which her Majesty had passed over, brake, being upon the same more than two hundred persons, and no man hurt by the fall; and there she did make Captain Drake Knight, in the same ship, for reward of his services. The arms given him were a ship on the world.”* For many a year Sir Francis Drake’s ship at Deptford was an object of curiosity and admiration. It became the great resort of holiday people, the cabin being converted into a sort of tavern well furnished with “full cups and banquets.”† When the rot had consumed her, some of the sound wood was converted into a chair, which was presented to the university of Oxford, with a short copy of verses written by Cowley. None of these ten lines are very good, nor can we much admire the point of the concluding four :—

“ Drake and his ship could not have wish’d from fate
 An happier station or more blessed estate.
 For lo ! a seat of endless rest is given—
 To her in Oxford, and to him in Heaven.

The circumnavigator had brought back with him, from St. Augustine’s, in Florida, a Spaniard named Pedro Morales, and a Frenchman named Nicholas Bourguignon; and from these two individuals, who had been six years in the country, Hakluyt obtained in 1586 some information “touching the state of those parts.” Their account was well calculated to send more adventurous Englishmen into Spanish America.

During part of the year 1585, and the whole of 1586, Sir Francis Drake was actively and profitably employed against Philip II. on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, in the Canaries, the Cape de Verdes, the West India islands, and on the coast of South America, where Carthagená and other towns were

* Stow.

† Eastward Hoe. This old play was the joint production of Ben Jonson, Chapman, and Marston; and, according to a well-known story, the cause of much trouble to all three.

taken and plundered. These operations bear a close family resemblance to those of Morgan, Mansvelt, Peche, Lasound, and the other "brethren of the coast," or buccaneers, who so plundered the Spanish main in the following century. The booty which was brought home, or which was reported to government by Drake, must have been considered but as a poor compensation for the toils that were endured and the losses that were sustained. It was valued only at 60,000*l.*, over and above 200 pieces of brass and 40 pieces of iron cannon. This had cost the lives of about 750 men, who, for the most part, died of calenture. The poor soldiers and sailors got only 20,000*l.* to divide among them. In the course of this expedition Drake visited the English colony in Virginia, which had been recently planted by Sir Walter Raleigh, and finding the colonists in extreme distress, he took them on board and brought them home with him. It is said that tobacco was first brought into England by the men who returned from Virginia with Drake. The name of the weed was obtained from the island on which it was first found growing—Tobago. "These men who were thus brought back," says Camden, "were the first that I know of, that brought into England that Indian plant which they call Tabacca and Nicotia, or Tobacco, which they used against crudities, being taught it by the Indians. Certainly from that time forward it began to grow into great request, and to be sold at an high rate, which, in a short time, many men everywhere, some for wantonness, some for health's sake, with insatiable desire and greediness, sucked in the stinking smoke thereof through an earthen pipe, which presently they blew out again at their nostrils: insomuch that tobacco-shops are now as ordinary in most towns as tap-houses and taverns."

In 1587, when formidable preparations were making in the ports of Spain and Portugal for the grand Armada and the invasion of England, Elizabeth appointed Drake to the command of a fleet equipped for the purpose of destroying the enemy's ships in their own harbours. This force did not exceed thirty sail, and only four were of

the navy royal; the rest, with the exception of two yachts belonging to the queen, being furnished by merchant-adventurers. Drake sailed from Plymouth on the 2nd of April. On the 16th of that month he fell in with two ships of Middleburgh, which had come from Cadiz, and by the captains of which he was informed that there was great store of warlike provision at Cadiz, where the Spaniards were busily employed in shipping it for Lisbon, the grand depôt for the Armada. On the 19th of April, between night and morning, "the dragon Drake," whose very name now spread terror, dashed into Cadiz Bay. Besides galleys there were sixty ships, and many vessels of inferior size, all protected by land-batteries. When over against Cadiz town he was smartly assailed by five galleys; but he soon drove them under the guns of the castle. A great Ragusan ship of 1000 tons, richly laden, and furnished with forty pieces of brass, was presently sunk. "There came," says one of the sailors engaged, "two galleys more from St. Mary's port and two from Port Real, which shot freely at us, but altogether in vain; for they went away with our blows, well beaten for their pains."* Drake burned, sunk, or took from thirty-five to forty ships, some of which were of the largest size, and it appears he might have done much more mischief but for the necessity he was under of securing as much booty, in goods, as he could, for the benefit of the merchant-adventurers, who had lent their ships, and provided crews and equipments in the hope of some profitable return. These goods were removed by the English sailors from the captured ships, close under a tremendous fire of land-batteries. The mariner from whom we have already quoted says, "We found little ease during our abode here, by reason of their continual shooting from the galleys, the fortresses,

* Narrative of expedition in Hakluyt. This worthy compiler and preacher of the gospel much cultivated the acquaintance of seamen and adventurers, and obtained from them many professional and most spirited accounts of the expeditions in which they were engaged.

and from the shore ; where continually, at places convenient, they planted new ordnance to offend us with : besides the inconvenience which we suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among us. Whereupon, when the flood of tide came we were not a little troubled to defend us from their terrible fire, which, nevertheless was a pleasant sight for us to behold, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay upon us day and night, in discharging the victuals and other provisions of the enemy. Thus, to the great astonishment of the King of Spain, this strange and happy enterprise was achieved in one day and two nights ; which bred such a corrosion in the heart of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, high admiral of Spain, that he never enjoyed a good day after, but within few months (as may justly be supposed) died of extreme grief and sorrow. And so, having performed this notable service, we came out of the road of Cadiz on Friday morning, the 21st of the said month of April, with very small loss not worth the mentioning.* They carried away four large Spanish ships laden with provisions ; and the stores and other goods they otherwise obtained must have been immense. " Thus," says our sailor, " being victualled with bread and wine at the enemy's cost, for divers months, our general despatched Captain Crosse into England with his letters After whose departure we shaped our course towards Cape Saere, taking sundry ships, destroying fishing-boats, and the profitable fisheries, but dealing favourably with the men and sending them ashore."† It appears that between Cadiz and Cape St. Vincent nearly 100 vessels of all sorts were taken or burned, and that four castles or forts were destroyed on shore ; the English oc-

* Narrative in Hakluyt. This thoroughly sailor-like account of the doings in Cadiz Bay agrees closely with the relation written by Drake himself to Secretary Walsingham on the 27th of April. Drake's letter, which is in the State Paper Office, is printed at full length by Mr. Barrow in ' Life of Admiral Sir Francis Drake,' &c.

† Id.

casionally landed and attacked the fortifications—"the better to enjoy the benefit of the place, and to ride in harbour at their pleasure." Drake, who was a humourist, called this "singeing the King of Spain's beard." "And thence," continues our sailor, "we came before the haven of Lisbon, anchoring near unto Cascaes, where the Marquis Santa Cruz was with his galleys, who, seeing us chase his ships ashore, and take and carry away his barks and caravels, was content to suffer us there quietly to tarry, and likewise to depart, and never charged us with one cannon-shot. And when our general sent him word that he was ready to exchange certain bullets with him, the marquis refused his challenge, sending him word that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such commission from his king."*

"So there being nothing more to be done or gotten in this quarter, away we go for the Azores." Within twenty or thirty leagues of St. Michael they fell in with the huge Portuguese galleon or carrack, called the 'St. Philip.' "This carrack, without any great resistance, we took, bestowing the people thereof in certain vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home into their country. And this was the first carrack that ever was taken coming from the East Indies; which the Portingals took for an evil sign, because the ship bore the king's own name! . . . And here by the way is to be noted that the taking of this carrack wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, in teaching others that carracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since, indeed, it hath fallen out in the taking of the *Madre de Dios*, and firing and sinking of others); and secondly, in acquainting the English nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies; whereby themselves and their neighbours of Holland have been encouraged, being men as skilful in navigation, and of no less courage than the Portingals, to share with them in the East Indies, where their strength is nothing so

* Hakluyt.

great as heretofore hath been supposed.”* According to our hearty sailor, another conviction, derived from Drake’s experience of galley-fighting, was this—“That four English men-of-war would always be a match for twenty Spanish galleys.” Before the summer was over Drake returned triumphantly to Plymouth with a whole fleet and an amazingly rich booty. He generously spent a considerable part of his own prize-money in supplying the town of Plymouth with good fresh water, for hitherto there was none, except what the inhabitants fetched from a place a mile distant. The head of the spring, from which it was now to be brought, was between seven and eight miles distant in a direct line; but by indentings and circlings it was to be conveyed twenty-four miles, through valleys, wastes, and bogs, and through a mighty rock, thought to be impenetrable. But Drake gave his money freely, and animated the engineers and workmen with some of his own resolute and persevering spirit. The work was soon finished; and the first flowing of the blessed stream into the town of Plymouth (which it has ever since supplied) was celebrated with a procession and festival at which the hero was present. “Perhaps,” says Southey, “the day of that peaceful triumph was the happiest of Drake’s public life.” He also erected at his own expense various mills on the stream for the use of the town, vesting the property in the mayor and commonalty, and their successors for ever.

Whether his “singeing” did or did not cause the death of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who was reputed the best naval commander of Spain, and whose loss is said to have been fatally felt in the management of the grand Armada, it is quite certain that his operations delayed the sailing of that armament more than a year, and gave Elizabeth that time to prepare for her defence.

Drake’s next service at sea was as vice-admiral in the fleet under Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, lord-high-admiral of England, which, with the assistance of the elements, and the many blunders committed by the

* Hakluyt.

Spaniards, scattered and destroyed the "Invincible Armada." The admirable seamanship of Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, contributed largely to the happy result. On the last day of July, when the fighting in the channel was over, and the shattered Spaniards in full retreat, "Drake wrote to Secretary Walsingham—'There never was anything pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northward. We have the Spaniards before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle another pull with them! With the grace of God, if we live, I doubt it not but ere it be long so to handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia, as he shall wish himself at Saint Mary's port among his vine-trees.'" If Drake's advice had been taken, and if the English ships had been properly provided with ammunition, instead of being obliged to wait in order to receive it from shore, it is probable that neither the Duke of Sidonia nor any other officer of the Armada would have got back to Spain to relate the frightful discomfiture they had sustained.

In the following year (1589) Drake was employed as admiral in an expedition sent to Portugal, in the hope of expelling the Spaniards, who had taken possession of that kingdom, by establishing the claims of Antonio, a pretender, around whom the English expected the Portuguese would rally. The pretender Antonio also expected assistance from Muley Hamet, king or emperor of Morocco; and the Dutch furnished some ships and companies of soldiers. The whole expedition was badly planned, most miserably supplied with money and the other means of war, and but lamely executed after the landing of the troops. It was also disgraced by cruelties unusual even in that age, and inexcusable, notwithstanding the provocation which the English had so recently received on their own shores. Southey, with proper feeling, stigmatizes the barbarities committed. Mr. Barrow only praises the ability and bravery displayed by the English. The expedition had cost England the loss of six thousand men.

In 1595 Drake and Sir John Hawkins, "who had

good experience in these parts," represented to Elizabeth that the best place for striking a blow at the gigantic power of Spain was in the West Indies. An armament was therefore prepared, and Drake was associated in the command with old Hawkins, to whom more than a quarter of a century before he had given cause for such serious discontent. They sailed together with six of the queen's ships and twenty-one other ships and barks, on board of which was embarked a land force under the orders of Sir Thomas Baskerville and Sir Nicholas Clifford. According to Hakluyt the whole expedition numbered 2500 men and boys. There were too many in command, and the usual bad consequences ensued. Nothing is so bad in war as councils of war. After losing time and temper in debate they were obliged to give up an attempt on the Canaries with some loss. When they got among the West India Islands Drake and Hawkins not only quarrelled but separated for some time, and before reaching the east end of Puerto Rico old Hawkins died, his death being generally attributed to the agitation of his mind. One of Drake's smallest vessels was captured by the Spaniards, who, by putting the crew of it to the torture, extracted information respecting the plans of the expedition. When Drake attacked the town of San Juan de Puerto Rico he found that place fully warned and prepared, as were all other places in that neighbourhood. One great Spanish shot struck the admiral's ship through the mizen, another striking through her quarter into the steerage where the general was sitting at supper, drove his stool from under him, but hurt him not; but it wounded Sir Nicholas Clifford, Master Browne, Captain Stratford, with one or two more who were sitting at the same table. Sir Nicholas and Browne died of their hurts. In the end Drake was driven from San Juan with a loss of about 100 men in killed and wounded. Sailing away he took and burned Rio de la Hacha, Rancheria, Santa Martha, and Nombre de Dios; getting no greater spoil than twenty tons of silver and two bars of gold. Drake remained in the harbour of Nombre de Dios, a most un-

healthy place, while Sir Thomas Baskerville, with a part of the land forces, made a vain and ruinous attempt to cross the isthmus of Darien, in order to plunder and destroy the city of Panama and some other places on the Pacific. Baskerville's force consisted of 750 soldiers. They found that the Spaniards were on the alert, and that a new fort had been erected for defending a narrow pass through which they must go. They were also told that there were two more forts beyond this one. "They had so much of this breakfast," says Fuller, "that they thought they should surfeit with a dinner and supper of the same."* Accordingly they returned towards Nombre de Dios sorely harassed and half starved. Baskerville lost in this expedition eighty or ninety men and officers. In the year 1680 the English Buccaneers under Coxon, Sawkins, and Peter Harris (though scarcely more than 300 strong), traversed the isthmus and plundered and took or burned all the shipping in Panama harbour; but they were assisted by 300 Mosquito Indians, and the secret of their coming was not known to the Spaniards.

A fatal disease now broke out among soldiers and sailors in the fleet, and soon deprived them of the important services of their chief surgeon. When many of his men and three of his captains had died, the hardy Drake himself fell sick, and after struggling some twenty days with his malady, and the grief occasioned by his failures, he expired at an early hour of the morning of the 28th of January, 1596. On the same day the fleet anchored in Puerto Bello, and, in sight of that place by the capture and plunder of which he had first established his great reputation, his body received a sailor's funeral.

" The waves became his winding-sheet,
The waters were his tomb;
But for his fame, the ocean sea
Was not sufficient room."

So sang one of his admiring contemporaries.† Sir

* Worthies.

† Prince, 'Worthies of Devon.' This quaint and amusing

Thomas Baskerville took the command of the fleet, and immediately led it back for England. Sixty Spanish ships were at sea to intercept him. He fell in with twenty sail of them off Cuba, but he fought his way gallantly through, causing the destruction of a great Spanish ship; and he arrived at Plymouth early in May 1596, though with very little booty.

According to Stow's dates Drake was fifty-five years old when he died; but the question of his age cannot be settled, as it is not known when he was born.

During a part of his life Sir Francis was an active member of the Lower House. He twice represented Bossiney or Tintagal, in Cornwall. In the parliament of 1592-3 he sat for Plymouth, and his name appeared upon most of the committees. He recommended energetic and extensive measures both by sea and land, and spoke for a grant of three subsidies to the queen to enable her to prosecute the war with Spain. Though his reputation as a skilful seaman and a bold commander was deservedly great, still, unless we judge him by the circumstances and the moral standard of his own times, he must appear, in many of his exploits, in no other light than that of a daring and fortunate buccaneer. "He was more skilful," says Stow, "in all points of navigation than any that ever was before his time, in his time, or since his death. He was also of a perfect memory, great observation, eloquent by nature, skilful in artillery, expert and apt to let blood, and give physic unto his people according to the climate. He was low of stature, of strong limbs, broad-breasted, round-headed, brown-haired, full-bearded, his eyes round, large, and clear, well-favoured, fair, and of a cheerful countenance. His name

writer gives other laudatory verses. The following were written in lieu of an epitaph :—

" Where Drake first found there last he lost his name,
And for a tomb left nothing but his fame.
His body's buried under some great wave;
The sea, that was his glory, is his grave.
On whom an epitaph none can truly make,
For who can say, *Here* lies Sir Francis Drake?"

was a terror to the French, Spaniards, Portugals, and Indians. Many princes of Italy, Germany, and others, as well enemies as friends, in his lifetime desired his picture. He was the second* that ever went through the Straits of Magelhaens, and the first that ever went round about the world. He was lawfully married unto two wives, both young, yet he himself and ten of his brethren died without issue : he made his youngest brother, Thomas, his heir, who was with him in the most and chiefest of his employments. In brief, he was as famous in Europe and America as Tamerlane in Asia and Africa."† Honest Stow, however, admits that the great man had his faults. He enumerates among his imperfections, that he was over-ambitious of honour, inconstant in friendship, and too greatly affected to popularity. Fuller adds to Drake's high qualities, that he was a very religious man towards God and his houses, chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true to his word, merciful to those that were under him, hating nothing so much as idleness, and seeing to all things himself, "never wont to rely on other men's care, how trusty or skilful soever they might seem to be, but always contemning danger, and refusing no trial."‡ According to some less favourable accounts he was ostentatious, vain-glorious, and much given to boasting. Perhaps the highest compliments to his skill and indomitable courage are to be found in the characters drawn of him by his mortal enemies, who, indeed, "honoured his memory in the bitterness of their enmity towards him."§ At Panama two days' holidays were kept to rejoice at his death as a foe and at his damnation as a heretic. The most popular of the Spanish poets of the day composed an epic poem to revile him ; and the Spaniards long excused their own humiliating

* This is a mistake. Drake was the third, and not the second navigator that went through that difficult strait. It was discovered by Fernaudo Magelhaens in 1520. In 1558-9 Juan Ladrilleros went through the strait ; and Drake, apparently without any knowledge of his track, followed it twenty years afterwards.

† Chronicle.

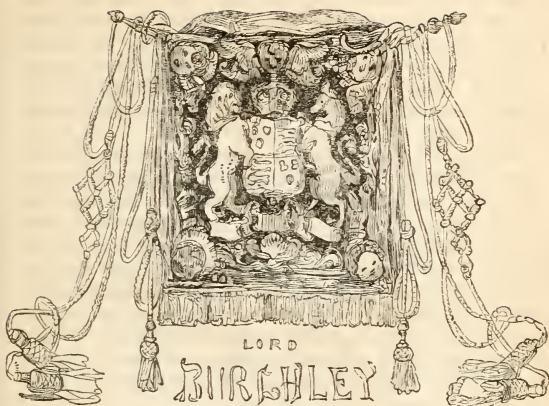
‡ Holy State.

§ Southey.

defeats by representing Drake as having been a magician, and in very close alliance with the devil.

But even in his native county of Devonshire Drake was long held to have been a magician, though one only practising in the *Magia Alba*, or white and innocent magic.

The abundant property which he left was much diminished by a prosecution instituted by the crown against his youngest brother, heir, and executor, Thomas Drake. It is said that this process rested solely upon "a pretended debt;" and this will be easily credited by those who best know the ungenerous, grasping spirit which prevailed at court, and among public men, during the last clouded years of Queen Elizabeth, and during the whole reign of James I. The estate which remained, however, placed Thomas's son Francis in such a station that he was created a baronet by James I., and returned as a member for his county.



THE life of Lord Burghley, if it were to be written with all the fulness of which the subject admits, would be the history of England, and in some measure of Europe, for the latter half of the sixteenth century. Even the materials that exist in print would, if they were collected, fill many large volumes. They have enabled Dr. Nares, Lord Burghley's biographer of the greatest pretension, to extend his narrative to three ponderous quartos.

In the space to which we are limited we must confine ourselves, as far as possible, to the man himself, to the incidents and circumstances of his career that are most of a personal nature and that most mark and illustrate his character. Of matter of this description there is also no scarcity. In particular, much that is very curious and interesting has been supplied by a person of Lord Burghley's establishment, "one who lived in the house with him during the last twenty-five years of his life," in a

sketch which he has himself entitled 'The Complete Statesman,' but which is commonly referred to as the *Diary of a Domestic*. It was first published by Peck in the first volume of his *Desiderata Curiosa*, 4to. Lond. 1732, and again 1779; and we shall use his edition as the most convenient. Burghley's own letters, many of which have been published in the Forbes, Haynes, Murdin, and other collections, will also supply us with some particulars for our purpose.

William Cecil, afterwards ennobled by the title of Lord Burghley, was the descendant of a family which appears to have been originally English or Norman, but which had been seated in Wales, and possessed of lands in the principality and the neighbouring counties of Hereford and Gloucester, ever since the reign of William Rufus. The name in the oldest form that is recorded was Sitsilt, whence it was worn down in the popular speech, and in the spelling which accommodated itself to that, into the successive shapes of Sicelt, Seycil, Cycyl, till at last the process of curtailment or alteration was arrested about the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., and the pronunciation and orthography settled in the form Cecil. This deduction sufficiently demolishes the fancy of Verstegan, the antiquary, in his 'Restoration of Decayed Intelligence,' that the Cecils were a branch of the old Roman Cecillii, who had settled in Britain when this island was a colony of the empire. Lord Burghley's father was Richard Cecil, Esq., master, or rather first yeoman, of the robes to King Henry VIII.; his mother was Jane, daughter and heiress of William Hickington, of Bourne, in Lincolnshire, and it was through her that the manor of Burghley came into the family. William, their only son, was born at Bourne, or Burn, probably in the house of his maternal grandfather, after whom he appears to have been named, on the 13th of September, 1520, as the date is given in a *Diary* in his own handwriting (his *Domestic* says 1521). At this time Henry VIII. had sat only twelve years on the throne, Wolsey was in the height of his greatness, and the authority of the Roman pontiff was still entire in

England, nor yet formally renounced in any part of western Christendom; the Diet of Worms, whose proceedings made the breach between Luther and the Church irreparable, was held in 1521; and the same year King Henry published his book against that reformer, which procured him from the pope his title of Defender of the Faith.

Cecil, therefore, was born and bred a Roman Catholic, in the religion of his father and mother, and of every body else of that day. The yeoman of the robes, we may here mention, who retained his office through Henry's reign, and was continued in it under Edward VI., died in 1552; his widow survived till the year 1587, when she died at the age of fourscore and seven, after having seen her son raised to the highest honours of the state—an instance to be added to those three memorable ones of Mrs. Scott, Mrs. Copley, and Mrs. Brougham, in our own day. Besides this only son, she bore her husband three daughters: Margaret, who married first Roger Cave, of Stamford, Esq., and after his death Ambrose Smith, of Bosworth, Esq.; Elizabeth, married first to Robert Wingfield, of Upton, Esq., secondly to Hugh Allington, Esq.; and Anne, who became the wife of Thomas Whyte, of Tucksford, Esq.

Cecil, after having been put to school first at Grant-ham and afterwards at Stamford, was in 1535 sent to Cambridge, and entered of St. John's College. At the university, we are told by his Domestic, his diligence was so great that he hired the bell-ringer to call him up at four o'clock every morning; till at last, with early rising and late watching and continual sitting, he brought a flow of humours into his legs, which was with difficulty cured, and was supposed to be one of the original causes of the gout that used to attack him in after years. At the unusually early age of seventeen he read what was called the Sophistry lecture, and before he was twenty the Greek lecture, although that language was not yet generally studied at Cambridge. And "his diligent study," adds this admiring chronicler, "was also such, as, besides his exquisite knowledge in the Greek, he was

not meanly seen in all other manner of learning; able, likewise, judicially and learnedly, to maintain an argument with the best learned of treble his standings, in any manner of learning or science, with extraordinary applause of his audience; no less admiring his great learning for so little time than the excellency of his wit and temper of speech. So that he was then as famous for a scholar in Cambridge as he was afterwards all over Europe for a grave and great counsellor."

Having remained at the university till he took his degree of Master of Arts, in May 1541 he entered himself of Gray's Inn, and removed to London. A story told by the Domestic in this part of his narrative is characteristic both of the man and of the time. At Gray's Inn "he profited," says his historian, "as before at Cambridge; but, as his years and company required, he would many times be merry among young gentlemen, who were most desirous of his company for his witty mirth and merry temper. Among the rest, I heard him tell this merriment of himself. That a mad companion of his, whilst he was thus at Gray's Inn, enticed him to play; whereupon in a short time he lost all his money, bedding, and books to his companion, having never used play before. And, being afterwards among his other company, he told them how such a one had misled him, saying he would presently have a device to be even with him. And he was as good as his word; for with a long trunk [or tube] he made a hole in the wall near his play-fellow's bed's head, and in a fearful voice spake thus through the trunk:—'O, mortal man, repent! repent of thy horrible time consumed in play, cozenage, and such lewdness as thou hast committed, or else thou art damned and canst not be saved!' Which being spoken at midnight, when he was all alone, so amazed him as drove him into a sweat for fear. Most penitent and heavy, the next day, in presence of the youths, he told with trembling what a fearful voice spake to him at midnight, vowing never to play again; and, calling for Mr. Cecil, asked him forgiveness on his knees, and restored all his money, bedding, and books. So two gamesters were

both reclaimed with this merry device, and never played more." "The boy is father of the man," and this stratagem of the hole in the wall of his fellow student's chamber in Gray's Inn may be compared with sundry equally ingenious and successful devices employed by the great statesman of after years, or imputed to him, for turning the tables upon his opponents; it may in particular remind some readers of the letters of Mary Stuart to Babington, which are said to have been found in a hole in the wall of the castle of Chartley, in the year 1586, and out of which was extracted the principal evidence by means of which she was got rid of, and the kingdom released from constant fear and disquiet, the year following. And the difference between that simple-minded time and our own may be felt if we will ask ourselves what chance a man would now have of getting back the money he had lost at play from a student of Gray's Inn by the plan Lord Burghley took.

It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of a person who was all his life so prudent and considerate, and so little apt to act from impulse or with any kind of precipitation or impatience, and who, besides, from the above anecdote, appears to have been as yet so much of a boy in some respects, and so imperfectly able to take care of himself, that he should have been in such a hurry to take a wife. According to his own Diary, he came up to Gray's Inn on the 6th of May, being then twenty-one years old; and on the 8th of August thereafter, he was married at Cambridge to Mary, the sister of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Cheke. It is like the similar solitary exception in the late Lord Eldon's life to his habitual caution and deliberation. It is not recorded, however, that Lord Burghley's was a love match, and the connexion was perhaps thought to be one likely to promote his success in the world. The lady, however, having borne him a son on the 6th of May, 1542, died on the 22nd of February in the year following.

Whether it had really been intended by his father that the young man should follow the profession of the law, does not appear; but, at any rate, before he had

been called to the bar, one of those accidents which he always knew so well how to turn to account, opened to him a surer way to fortune and eminence. One day, towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII., he had come to the court to see his father, when he chanced, as he stood in the presence-chamber, to fall into talk with two priests, chaplains to the Irish chieftain O'Neil, who was then at court. Cecil had by this time adopted the new views of religion, at least to the extent to which they were countenanced by the royal authority, and he and the priests soon got upon one or more of the points on which their notions were altogether opposed to his. The dispute was carried on in the Latin language, and was conducted on Cecil's part with so much both of learning and wit, that he soon, in the words of the Domestic, "proved the poor priests to have neither, who were so put down that they had not a word to say, but flung away in a chafe, no less discontented than ashamed to be foiled in such a place by so young a beardless youth." A report of their discomfiture was presently carried to the king, who thereupon commanded young Cecil to be brought to him. The result of the interview was that Henry desired the chief yeoman of the robes to think of a suit for his son; upon which he asked for the reversion of the office of *Custos Brevium* in the Court of Common Pleas. This his majesty at once granted, and Cecil appears to have come into possession of the place about the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. It brought him about 240*l.* a year, then a very considerable income. Before this he had taken to himself a second wife, Mildred, the eldest of the four famous learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke. He married her on the 21st of December, 1545; he being then in his twenty-fifth, she in her twenty-second year.

It is said to have been through Sir John Cheke that he was first made known to the Earl of Hertford, before the death of Henry VIII. When the earl, after the accession of his nephew, became Duke of Somerset and Protector, he set up a new office, that of Master of Requests, and gave it to Cecil: the duty attached to it

was to receive the numerous suits which were addressed to the duke. And this same year, 1547, according to his Domestic, "he went with the duke to Musselburgh field, where he was like to have been slain, but was miraculously saved by one that, putting forth his arm to thrust Mr. Cecil out of the level of the cannon, had his arm stricken off." It is rather strange, however, that he should make no mention of this escape in his own Diary, in which, indeed, he does not even state that he was present at the battle of Musselburgh, or Pinkie: that battle was fought on the 10th of September, and all that he says is, that he was in Scotland in the summer of this year. Yet other notices speak of him as having accompanied the army, and having been joined in the office of judge-marshal with William Patten, who published the next year an account of the expedition, for which Walpole, in his 'Royal and Noble Authors,' says Cecil furnished materials. "It is on this account, I suppose," adds Walpole, "that his lordship is reckoned by Holingshed among the English historians."

In September of the next year, 1548, we find him noting in his Diary that he was appointed to the office of secretary; and it has been supposed by some that he was at this time made secretary of state. But it seems more probable that his office was that of private secretary to the Protector. When Somerset was for the first time sent to the Tower, in October, 1549, Cecil was also taken into custody; he has himself noted that he was in the Tower in the month of November of this year; and his Domestic says that he remained there three months. He was probably let out when Somerset himself was set at liberty in the beginning of February, 1550. The late Protector gradually regained some measure of his former influence; and the Domestic affirms that it was he who, "perceiving the king's great liking of Mr. Cecil," now preferred him to be secretary of state. He probably used his interest to get him the place—to which he was appointed on the 6th of September, on the resignation of Mr. Wotton. At this time there appear to have been two principal secretaries of

state. He was probably at the same time sworn of the privy council. This same year, moreover, he obtained a grant of the reversion for sixty years of the rectory of Wimbledon, in Surrey (according to a practice which prevailed both in England and Scotland, in the infancy of the Protestant church, of giving such ecclesiastical preferments to laymen); and he soon after went to reside on the living, for we find him noting in his Diary that in May, 1551, he was ill of a fever there to the danger of his life.

His ability and assiduity were now sure to make him of more consequence every day. Wherever head-work was wanted he was the man to do it. When the Lady Mary (afterwards queen) was waited upon at Copthall, in Essex, in August, 1551, by a deputation from the council, who brought her what professed to be a letter from her brother, requiring her to introduce the new church-service in her family, she received the letter, Burnet tells us, from the hands of the Lord Chancellor on her knees, saying, however, that she paid that respect to the king's hand, and not to the matter of the letter, which she knew proceeded from the council; and when she had read it, she said, "Ah! Mr. Cecil took much pains here." Cecil's Protestantism, now mature and complete, as well as unrestrained in its expression, must have helped much to establish him in the favour of King Edward.

From his original patron, Somerset, in his changed fortunes and dubious position, he appears to have kept much aloof. Under date of 14th October, 1551, we find the following entry in the king's journal: "The duke sent for the secretary, Cecil, to tell him he suspected some ill. Mr. Cecil answered, That if he were not guilty he might be of good courage; if he were, he had nothing to say but to lament him." On the afternoon of the next day the ex-Protector was arrested and once more committed to the Tower; on the 1st of December he was brought to trial in Westminster Hall, and condemned to die; and on the 22nd of January, 1552, as his royal nephew has set it down, he "had his

head struck off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." On the 11th of October, 1551, four days before he had had the interview above-mentioned with Somerset, most probably the last time they ever met in private, Cecil had been knighted along with Cheke, at the same time that the Earl of Warwick, Somerset's successful rival, and now the all-powerful head of the government, was raised to the dignity of Duke of Northumberland, and others of his creatures had various titular honours conferred upon them. The Domestic writes: "During all their power in that reign the two Dukes of Northumberland and Somerset strived each to win the secretary sure to him, both using him exceeding kindly and tempting him with great offers and gifts. He showed duty to both, but would take gifts of neither; and so, though with difficulty, he carried himself even to both all King Edward's time." On the 12th of April, 1553, he was made chancellor of the order of the Garter. At this time he must have been living in considerable state, if we may judge from an entry in his Diary recording a payment to an embroiderer for no fewer than thirty-six scutcheons for his servants' coats. They cost him two shillings a-piece. "It was the custom then, it seems," Peck remarks, "for all servants and retainers of any great man to wear badges, generally representing his crest or device, which badges were wrought some on satin, some on velvet, and some on cloth of silver and gold itself, according to the rank of the servants, or the quality of any other retainers, who were to wear them."

Although, however, he kept on terms with Northumberland so long as it seemed safe to go along with him, Cecil was too cautious a man to engage with any zeal, or involve himself farther than he could not help doing, in the last all-or-nothing scheme of that daring political gambler. In the perilous time of the king's last sickness, in the early part of the month of June, 1553, when Northumberland was extorting from the dying boy the bequest of the crown to his son's wife, the Lady Jane Grey, Cecil fell opportunely sick, and left the task of

writing down the royal instructions to one of his fellow-secretaries, Petre (there were now three); nor would he afterwards, as he himself asserts, even at Edward's earnest request, do more than append his name to the instrument as a witness to the king's signature. Nevertheless, it appears, from a paper which Burnet has published in his Supplementary Collection of Records, that he was afterwards prevailed upon to subscribe along with the rest of the council another paper, headed with the royal signature, in which they all declared that, having many times heard the king's earnest desire and express commandment touching the limitation of the succession, and "having seen his majesty's own device touching the said succession, first wholly written with his most gracious hand, and after copied out in his majesty's presence, by his most high commandment, and confirmed with the subscription of his majesty's own hand, and by his highness delivered to certain judges, and other learned men, to be written in full order," they, by his Majesty's special and absolute commandment, promised, by their oaths and honours, fully to observe, conform, and keep "all and every article, clause, branch, and matter contained in the said writing delivered to the judges and others, and superscribed with his majesty's hand in six several places; and all such other matter as his majesty, by his last will, shall approve, declare, or command touching or concerning the limitation of the succession." Further, they promised, again by his majesty's commandment, never to vary or swerve during their lives from the said limitation; but the same always to the uttermost of their powers to defend and maintain. "And," concluded the paper, "if any of us, or any other, shall at any time hereafter (which God forbid) vary from this agreement, or any part thereof, we, and every of us, do assent to take, use, and repute him for a breaker of the common concord, peace, and unity of this realm, and to do our uttermost to see him, or them, so varying or swerving, punished with most sharp punishments, according to their deserts." Edward's death took place at Greenwich on the evening of the 6th of

July; and the next day we find Cecil congratulating himself in his Diary with much apparent cordiality on his escape from office: "*Libertatem adeptus sum, morte regis; et, ex misero aulico, factus sum liber, et mei juris*" (I have obtained my liberty by the death of the king; and, from a miserable functionary of the court; am become a freeman, and my own master). As is customary, however, he continued to perform the duties of his place till there should be a new appointment; and his name was attached with those of the other members of the council (twenty-one in all) to the answer despatched to Mary on the 9th informing her that Queen Jane was now their sovereign, according to the ancient laws of the land and the late king's letters patent, and requiring her to abandon her pretensions and not to disturb the government. But he excused himself from drawing up the order for proclaiming Queen Jane, on the plea that that duty belonged to the law officers; and, as soon as Northumberland, who kept them all in a sort of imprisonment in the Tower, was got rid of by being persuaded to go and place himself at the head of the military force by which Mary was to be met, he seized the opportunity of withdrawing. He does not appear to have been present at the meeting of the majority of his colleagues at Baynard's Castle on the 19th, when it was resolved to proclaim Queen Mary; nor did he instantly take his course; but, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget having gone off to Mary that night, he followed them the next day. He was, we are told, very graciously received, notwithstanding all that had passed.

His Domestic says, "When Queen Mary came in, she granted Sir William Cecil a general pardon. And, in choosing her counsellors, she had also so good liking of him, as, if he would change his religion, he should be her secretary and counsellor. And, to that purpose, some wise men were underhand set to allure him and discover his disposition. But, like himself, he wisely and christianly answered, he was taught and bound to serve God first, and next the queen; and, if her service should put him out of God's service, he hoped her

majesty would give him leave to choose an everlasting rather than a momentary service. And, as for the queen, she had been his so gracious lady, as he would ever serve, and pray for her in his heart, and with his body and goods be as ready to serve in her defence as any of her most loyal subjects, so she would please to grant him leave to use his conscience to himself, and serve her at large as a private man, rather than to be her greatest counsellor. Here was no turn-coat, nor seller of his soul, nor renouncer of his faith, for ambition of a counsellor's place, as many would do upon so fair an offer. But, where the foundation is surely laid, the house is hardly [with difficulty] shaken. And, God laying the first stone, the building must needs prosper. As was verified in him; to whom God gave the fruits of his faith, and the reward of a good steward." Cecil probably had no desire for office at this particular time; and he might consider himself very well off with his general pardon for the present; but the fact is that, like many other persons who had been very good Protestants during all the preceding reign (Elizabeth herself among the number), he did now conform to the re-established Roman faith. Dr. Nares has printed a record, in the hand-writing of William Haddon his steward, preserved in the State Paper Office, attesting that during the reign of Mary he kept a priest in his house at Wimbledon, and that himself, his wife, and his eldest son all both confessed and went to mass.

The Domestic himself informs us that, although he was not continued in his secretaryship, he enjoyed great favour with the queen, and was sent by her in the second year of her reign to Brussels, along with Lord Paget, to bring back Cardinal Pole, who had recently been appointed legate by the pope, and whose attainder had just been repealed by parliament. From Cecil's own Diary it appears that they set out upon this mission on the 6th of November, 1554; that they reached Brussels on the 11th; and that they returned to Westminster with the cardinal on the 23rd. But he was also sent again beyond seas the next year, with the cardinal, the Lord Chancellor

(Gardiner), the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget, all devoted Roman Catholics, to endeavour to negotiate a peace with the emperor and the French king. They sailed for Calais on the 18th of May; on the 3rd of June they proceeded thence to a village called Mark, between Gravelines and Ardres, where the conferences were held, which, notwithstanding Pole's best exertions, ended in nothing, and they got back to England on the 26th of June.

After his return home from this mission, Cecil was elected one of the knights of the shire for the county of Lincoln, and he took his place in the House of Commons which met on the 21st of October. He says himself that he was returned to parliament against his will, and that the post was one of some danger; nevertheless, he adds, he spoke his mind freely, although he thereby incurred some displeasure; but it was better to obey God than man. Burnet's account is, that the temper of parliament was now much changed from what it had been in the beginning of the reign; "men's minds were much alienated from the clergy, and also from the queen, who minded nothing else but to raise them to great wealth and power again;" and great heats were occasioned, first by a subsidy moved for in the Commons on the 28th of October, and afterwards by a bill brought in on the 23rd of November for suppressing the first-fruits and tenths, and giving back all impropriations that were yet in the queen's gift to the church, which was particularly committed for examination to Cecil and others, and was only carried in the end by a majority of 193 against 126. The truth is, that universal alarm had been excited by a design understood to be entertained by the court of recovering for the church all the property of every description that had been taken from it in the last two reigns, into whatever hands it might have passed. "Certain it is," says Heylin, "that many who were cordially affected to the queen's religion were very much startled at the noise of this restitution, insomuch that some of them are said to have clapped their hands upon their swords, affirming, not without some oaths, that they would never part with

their abbey lands as long as they were able to wear a sword by their sides." Cecil, on this occasion, as an individual, fought, if not *pro aris*, at least *pro focus*—for his fireside, if not for his faith;—his comfortable rectory of Wimbledon was in jeopardy. No doubt, too, he discerned the signs of the times, and how fast Mary was losing ground. His Domestic relates that one day after he had made a very effective speech in opposition to the court, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir William Courtenay, Sir John Pollard, and others, mostly west-country men, who were of the same way of thinking, came to him when the House rose, and said they would dine with him that day. "He answered, they should be welcome, so they did not speak of any matters of parliament, which they promised. Yet some began to break promise, for which he challenged them. This meeting and speech was known to the council; and all the knights and gentlemen were sent for and committed. Sir William Cecil was also sent for to my Lord Paget and Sir William Petre. When he was brought before them, he desired they would not do by him as by the rest, which he thought somewhat hard,—that was to commit them first, and to hear them after; but prayed them first to hear him, and then to commit him if he were guilty. 'You speak like a man of experience,' quoth my Lord Paget. And upon their hearing the circumstances he cleared himself, and so at once escaped both imprisonment and disgrace." Burnet only mentions that Kingston was sent to the Tower the day after the parliament was dissolved; he "had been," he says, "a main stickler in it, and had one day taken the keys of the House from the serjeant, which, it seems, was not displeasing to the major part of the House, since they did nothing upon it." He lay in the Tower from the 10th till the 23rd of December, when, having submitted and asked pardon, he was discharged. But the following year he was taken up on a charge of having carried his practical way of going to work somewhat farther than taking possession of the keys of the House of Commons; he was accused of having engaged in a design with a num-

ber of other persons to rob the exchequer. Eight of the others were tried and executed ; he died on his way to London. Burnet does not affirm that they were unjustly condemned ; all he says is, " What evidence was brought against them I do not know." There is no doubt about the reality of the conspiracy, most of the persons engaged in which made their escape to France. Their object was to get up an insurrection with the money ; and the evidence went a great way to implicate Elizabeth herself. Among the persons executed were two of her officers, who, it was said, had made use of her name without her authority.

Very little is known of what Cecil was about in the two or three last years of the reign of Mary. In Haynes's Collection are a few short letters addressed to him in 1556 and 1557 by his father-in-law Sir Anthony Cooke, the Earl of Bedford, and others ; but scarcely anything is to be got out of them. One from Sir Thomas Cornwallis, dated Calais, 5th March, 1556, is addressed to him at Cannon Row in Westminster, and speaks of his attending in Westminster Hall, and taking part in a certain cause heard in one of the courts there—but the meaning probably is that he only gave his evidence as a witness. He was returned again for Lincolnshire to the next parliament, the last of Mary's reign, which met on the 20th of January, 1558. The second session, which commenced on the 5th of November, was abruptly terminated by the death of the queen on the 17th.

There is no doubt that for some time before this event Cecil had been Elizabeth's chief adviser. His Domestic would make it appear that he was in her confidence and service from the beginning of the reign of Mary, and that the latter overlooked that circumstance, though well aware of it ; but this account is far from probable. There is no reason for supposing that he began to turn from Mary to her sister before the latter part of the year 1555 at the earliest, when the temper both of the parliament and of the nation had undergone an ominous change, and it had besides become

clear that there was no chance of any issue of the reigning queen cutting out Elizabeth from the succession.

Elizabeth made him her prime minister at once.¹ He was, his Domestic tells us, "first sworn of any counsellor she had, at Hatfield, where she lay at her first coming to the crown." He was re-appointed to his former office of principal secretary of state; and the other members of the council, or, as we should now say, of the cabinet, or the administration, are understood to have been selected by his advice. They consisted of thirteen of the ministers of the late queen, of course all Roman Catholics, and of seven other new men and Protestants, in addition to Cecil himself.

From this time to the end of his life the biography of this celebrated minister becomes identical with the history of his country. Elizabeth and he were nearly of accord upon the grand political questions of the time; with many points of difference, there were some leading respects in which they resembled each other in temper and character; and, while they had both passed through the same previous condition of things, and much in the same manner, he was just so much the older of the two as it became the man to be than the woman, and the counsellor than the queen. In particular they were very nearly of one mind and disposition in reference to what was then the question of questions even in regard to this world, the question of religion. Cecil was perhaps rather the better Protestant, but he was far from being extreme in his views any more than her majesty, and, especially at first, he would probably have been very well satisfied to set up a mixture of the two religions if the Romish party would have accepted such a compromise. As things were arranged, he took care that the new church should not depart farther from the old model than the case absolutely required. He gave no countenance to the principle that deviation should be sought after for its own sake. Whatever was merely disorganizing in the spirit of the Reformation he firmly set his face against. The system which he laboured

all his life to maintain was one including only so much of Protestantism as could be adopted with safety to all the old foundations of the English social and political system. For instance, there was nothing more of democracy or republicanism in his Protestant church of England than there had been in the Romish church that preceded it. Both were equally monarchical and aristocratic both in their spirit and in their form. At any rate, such as it is, the existing church establishment is mainly his work. And so was the system generally both of domestic and foreign policy upon which the country acted throughout the reign of Elizabeth, and by which it has to a considerable extent been governed ever since. The principle of the system at least has continued to operate, whatever changes may have been brought about in the mode of its operation. That principle may be defined to be the championship of the cause of regulated freedom and temperate reform throughout Europe. In the reign of Elizabeth reform and resistance, progress and stagnation, going forward and going back, liberty and absolutism, were represented almost universally by Protestantism and Romanism: with her and her minister, accordingly, the support of Protestantism at home and abroad was everywhere the first object. It was this that directed the aid she gave to the Huguenots in France and the insurgents in Holland, the part she took in the affairs of Scotland, the course she followed in the government of Ireland. The very tenure by which she occupied the throne, indeed, was the support of Protestantism. Let her have given up that, and Mary Stuart would have been Queen of England.

One of the first matters to which Cecil directed his attention after the settlement of religion, was the reformation of the coin. The amount of what was done, however, in restoring the ancient standard, has been exaggerated in the common accounts; at least expressions are used which would convey the notion that the reform was much greater than it really was. The fact is, that, after the quantity of alloy in the silver coinage

had been carried to the monstrous extent of nine ounces in the pound troy (or three-fourths of the whole compound), it had been reduced by Edward VI. in 1552 to nineteen pennyweights, or to within one pennyweight of the ancient legal quantity; and Queen Mary had only added one pennyweight more. All that was now done was to reduce the twenty pennyweights of alloy to eighteen. The debased money of preceding reigns, however, was called in; and this may be considered as having been the most important as well as the most formidable part of Cecil's undertaking. The nominal value of the old coin received at the mint was between six and seven hundred thousand pounds, its real value being only between two and three hundred thousand. Cecil was quite alive to the connection between national prosperity and a right condition of everything relating to money and commerce. One of his maxims, we are told by his Domestic, was, that that realm cannot be rich whose coin is poor or base. But the evil really lies not so much in the absolute quantity of alloy in the coin (which, even if carried too far, would be a mere inconvenience), as in what is properly called its debasement, namely, the increase of the alloy without any corresponding diminution of the legal value. Another principle of Cecil's, it seems, was, that a realm must needs be poor that does not export more than it imports. So that he held what has been called the Mercantile, or Balance of Trade theory, now generally abandoned, though whether he carried it out to its logical conclusion of regarding gold and silver, or money, as the only true riches, does not appear. This view, however, leading him, as it would, to the promotion of domestic industry and manufactures, was not at that time calculated to do much harm. It becomes practically pernicious chiefly when it produces or is employed to defend exclusions and restrictions in favour of home manufactures either sufficiently established or not worth establishing.

In June, 1560, Cecil again visited Scotland, this time in a character no doubt more to his taste than that which he had borne on his last visit thirteen years before. He

was sent down at the head of a commission to conclude a peace with the French and Scots; and the result was the Treaty of Leith, by which that town was surrendered to the Lords of the Congregation, or leaders of the Protestant party, and all the French forces were withdrawn from Scotland. This was a great triumph both for the Scottish Protestants and for the English interest; and to Cecil, who both upon principle and from disposition was emphatically a peace minister, the arrangement he had succeeded in effecting must have been peculiarly gratifying.

In the beginning of the following year, 1561, he received from his royal mistress the valuable place of master of the wards, on the death of Sir Thomas Parry. The high favour in which he stood, we are told, however, exposed him to a great deal not only of envy but of danger; plots were laid to bring about his disgrace, and attempts were even made to take his life. His unceasing toils also "caused all his friends," says his domestic historian, "to pity him, and his very servants to admire him. And myself, as an eye-witness, can testify that I never saw him half an hour idle in four and twenty years together. For, if there were cause of business, he was occupied till that was done, which commonly was not long in hand. If he had no business, which was very seldom, he was reading or collecting. If he rid abroad he heard suitors; when he came in he despatched them. When he went to bed and slept not, he was either meditating or reading. And I have heard him say, he did penetrate further into the depths of causes, and found out more resolutions of dubious points, in his bed, than when he was up. Indeed, he left himself scarce time for sleep or meals, or leisure to go to bed." This writer also celebrates the ability which he showed as a speaker, both in parliament and in the star-chamber, where the lords of the council were then accustomed to sit and administer justice. In the House of Commons, it appears, his practice was generally to speak last, and wind up the debate, when, we are told, he seemed to all who heard him far to exceed in gravity, wisdom, and

eloquence all who had previously spoken, perfectly concluding all things, and clearing up whatever they had left dark or doubtful. "And yet," it is added, "which was observed as a strange thing in him, for all his long and public speeches, he was never seen to study a quarter of an hour, or to take notes, or turn books for any of his speeches. His long experience and practice made him need no helps. And it was noted, that, wheresoever he sate in the place of justice, there wanted not numbers that came only to hear him speak." Other accounts also attest the great excellence of his speaking; it was not, of course, either vehement and impassioned, or brilliant with wit and fancy; but in that sort of eloquence which addresses itself to the head rather than to the imagination or the heart—which consists in clear exposition and weighty and convincing enforcement—Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon (the father of the chancellor) are said to have excelled all the other orators of their time.

In February, 1571, Cecil was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron of Burghley; in June, 1572, he was made a knight of the Garter; and in September of the same year, upon the death of the Marquess of Winchester, he was promoted to the office of lord high treasurer. This change of position, however, probably, did not make him more first or leading minister than he had been from the first. Throughout all the time he continued in office every department of the public service was more or less immediately under his superintendence; he was not more occupied with the public revenue, for instance, than he was with foreign affairs. This sufficiently appears from his correspondence, large portions of which have been published.

There is a series of Burghley's letters (when he was Sir William Cecil and Secretary of State) published in the collection called *The Cabala*, which illustrates both the multifarious nature of his duties, and the character of the man, perhaps, as strongly as any others that have been printed. They are addressed to Sir Henry Norris, the Queen's ambassador in France, and

extend from February, 1567, to September, 1570. In one of the earliest, dated Westminster, 20th February, 1567, occurs the following curious paragraph:—"The queen's majesty would fain have a tailor that hath skill to make her apparel, both after the French and Italian manner; and she thinketh that you might use some mean to obtain some one such there [in France] as serveth that [the French] queen, without mentioning any manner of request in the queen's majesty's name. First, to cause my lady your wife to use some such means to get one, as thereof knowledge might not come to the queen mother's ears, of whom the queen's majesty thinketh thus, that, if she did understand that it were a matter wherein her majesty might be pleased, she would offer to send one to the queen's majesty. Nevertheless, if it cannot be so obtained by this indirect means, then her majesty would have you devise some other good means to obtain one that were skilful." It may be presumed that a prime minister in the present day is no longer burthened with matters of state of this description. One or two other passages exhibit a prominent part of this minister's character—his careful economy. On the 19th of August, 1567, he writes from the manor of Guilford:—"I most heartily pray you to bear with my advice, that in your expenses you have consideration not to expend so much as by your bills brought to me by your servant Cartwright it seemeth you do; for truly I have no warrant to allow such several fees as be therein contained, neither did I know any of the like allowed to any of your predecessors. And, in the paying for your intelligences, if you be not well ware, you shall for the day imagine, have counterfeited ware for good money. Some. For I of importance, or when you are precisely friendship's being to prosecute matters of weight, it is referred pounds in a extraordinary charges be borne; but, as to week more, over advices of occurrents abroad, they are for. The charge of had for small value, and many times as for at this day the common advice, "no power to show Rome, Spain, Constantinople, Vienna"

yea, and from Paris, are made so current, as every merchant hath them with their letters from their factors." This last sentence is interesting in reference to the history of newspapers, or, at least, the manner in which intelligence was formerly published and circulated. Lord Burghley used to have the credit of having been himself the inventor of the modern newspaper, at least in England. It was pretended that in the year of the Spanish Armada, 1588, he had caused a species of Gazette to be printed and dispersed from time to time, containing accounts of the movements of the enemy, and other matters of general interest; and copies of several numbers of this publication were believed to be preserved in the British Museum. A few years ago, however, the sagacity of one of the officers of that establishment made the discovery that these 'English Mercuries,' as they are entitled, are forgeries of the last century; and so much, therefore, of Lord Burghley's fame is at an end. He goes on in his letter to Norris:—"If I did not know your good nature, I would not thus plainly write; and yet, if I should not hereof warn you, your expences might increase, and I know not how to procure your payment. And yet hereby [herein?] I mean to do my best at all times to help you to allowance for all necessary expenses." There is the same reasonable and considerate tone in a subsequent letter, in which he replies to a remonstrance which it appears Sir Henry had made. Writing from Windsor on the 2nd of October, he says:—"And where it seemeth you think some hardness, in not allowance of instance, pences expressed in sundry your bills, surely it ciently appo^r my good will that stayeth me, but power; of which have never subscribed so many extraordinary bills

There is a have done for you; and, as I understand Sir William Cant Cartwright, I have subscribed more in the collection than will be as yet paid. Generally, I both the multifi all charges reasonable for carriage of racter of the macerning entertainment of men to con- that have been t, or for rewards given extraordinarily, Henry Norris, theuld allow them; and yet I wish them

paid, being laid out in the service of her majesty. And in this manner I heartily pray you to interpret my good will to the best; for surely, if you were either my brother or son, I have no more power to shew you and yours good will than I do."* Elizabeth was herself, in fact, still more economically inclined than her minister, nor would she have borne with his permission of any unnecessary charges. No other virtue could have recommended Burghley so effectually to her regard as this his care of the public money.

The most interesting part of the history written by his Domestic is that in which an account is given of his personal habits and private life. He kept two principal establishments, we are told; one at London, the other at Theobald's; though he also was at some charge both at Burghley and at the court, and thus might be said to maintain four houses in all. At his house in London his household usually consisted of four-score persons, besides himself and those who attended him at court; and the ordinary expenditure was thirty pounds a week, which was increased by ten or twelve pounds when he himself lodged in the house. At Theobald's his household amounted to from twenty-six to thirty persons; and the establishment, in his absence, was maintained at a cost of twelve pounds weekly. Twenty or thirty poor people were also daily relieved at the gate; and twenty shillings besides was given weekly to the poor in money. "His whole household expenses," continues the account, "both at Theobald's and London, being both summed together, his yearly charge was two thousand seven hundred and four pounds, when his lordship was continually at court. But his charge, you may imagine, much increased at his lordship's coming home. For I have heard his officers affirm that at his lordship's being at Theobald's it hath cost him four score pounds in a week; that is, fifty and eight pounds a week more, over and above the former twenty and two. The charge of

* Perhaps he wrote, or intended to write, "no power to show you and yours more good will."

his stable, not here mentioned, was nearly a thousand marks at the least. Besides which certain charge, he bought great quantities of corn in times of dearth to furnish markets about his house at under-prices, to pull down the price to relieve the poor. He gave also for releasing of prisoners, in many of his latter years, forty and fifty pounds in a term. And, for twenty years together, he gave yearly in beef, bread, and money, at Christmas, to the poor of Westminster, St. Martin's, St. Clement's, and Theobald's, thirty-five, and sometimes forty, pounds *per annum*. He gave also yearly to twenty poor men lodging in the Savoy twenty suits of apparel. He gave also for three years before he died to poor prisoners and poor parishes, in money weekly, forty and five shillings. So as his certain alms, besides extraordinary, was cast up to be five hundred pounds yearly, one year with another." We have afterwards a description of the order and government of his house:—
“ After performance of business (as few men about him were idle), there were prayers every day said in his chapel at eleven of the clock, where his lordship and all his servants were present; for he seldom or never went to dinner without prayers. And so likewise at six of the clock, before supper. Which course was observed by his steward in his lordship's absence. When his lordship was able to sit abroad, he kept an honourable table for noblemen and others to resort to; but when age and infirmities grew on him he was forced to keep his chamber, where he was void neither of company nor meat; having as many of his friends and children to dine with and keep him company there as before he had strangers in his parlour; his diet being then as chargeable weekly as when he came abroad. His lordship's hall was ever well furnished with men, and as well served with meat and kept in good order. For his steward kept a standing table for gentlemen; besides two other long tables (many times twice set), one for the clerk of the kitchen, the other for yeomen. And, whether his lordship were absent or present, all men, both retainers and others, resorted continually to meat

and meal at their pleasures. Which I have seldom seen in any house; especially any house having so many retainers resorting continually, either for suits or private business. His lordship was himself served with men of quality and ability; for most of the principal gentlemen in England sought to prefer their sons and heirs to his service. Insomuch as I have numbered in his house, attending on the table, twenty gentlemen of his retainers of a thousand pounds per annum a piece, in possession and reversion; and of his ordinary men as many, some worth a thousand pounds, some worth three, five, ten, yea twenty thousand pounds, daily attending his lordship's service." These details give us as complete a picture of the housekeeping of our old nobility as is perhaps any where to be found. And in how strong a light do they bring before us the difference in all things between the time to which they relate and our own! Lord Burghley maintains, at a cost of about four thousand a year, a style of living which forty thousand a year certainly could not now match; we may say, therefore, that money was in those days of at least ten times the value that it is now: what should we think then of gentlemen of ten thousand a year giving attendance as servants at a nobleman's table, or of persons worth two hundred thousand pounds officiating in the same capacity? The space through which society has moved in the three centuries shows much greater measured by indications of this kind than even when we look back to the dinners of our ancestors at noon, and their suppers at seven in the evening—with prayers every day before both.

Lord Burghley's three houses, that at London, Burghley House, near Stamford, and Theobald's, at Waltham, in Hertfordshire, were all wholly or chiefly built by himself, and were all mansions of great magnificence. Burghley is still the seat of his descendant, the Marquess of Exeter. Theobald's, which became the property of his second son Robert, was exchanged by him with James I. for Hatfield, in the same county, now the splendid residence of his descendant the Marquess of Salisbury. Theobald's was afterwards destroyed

by the republican soldiers in the time of the civil wars. The London House stood on the site now occupied by Exeter Hall : it had been partly erected by Sir Thomas Palmer, in the reign of Edward VI., but the greater part was added by Burghley, from whom it took the name, first of Cecil House, and then of Burghley House, which was changed into that of Exeter House, when his eldest son, into whose possession it came, was made Earl of Exeter soon after the accession of James I. About the end of the seventeenth century it was converted into the late Exeter Change ; but it had for many years previous ceased to be occupied as a dwelling-house. The erection and maintenance of these three palaces would alone redeem Burghley from the imputation of having been a small-souled man ; besides the love of architectural splendour which it indicated, it shows that he was not afraid to come forward with his wealth into the light of day, and before the popular eye ; for there is no other way in which wealth can make itself so conspicuous as by this. The mere purchase of land, the adding of field to field, is hoarding and concealment compared with this visible, perpetuating, monumental expenditure, which, besides, goes to make the wealth and state of the individual the ornament of the country, and in some sort the property of the whole community. Of Burghley's three lordly mansions, the two noble families of which he is the founder have, as we have seen, each found one burthen enough, and the third has long passed out of their hands. From the names of Cecil Street and Salisbury Street on the other side of the Strand, it may be seen that the gardens or grounds of Cecil House originally extended across that now great thoroughfare, and down to the river. The Strand, however, was an open street or road then as now, and must have divided the gardens from the house. Burghley, we are told by his Domestic, " greatly delighted in making gardens, fountains, and walks, which at Theobald's were perfected most costly, beautifully, and pleasantly, where one might walk two miles in the walks before he came to their ends." This house of

Theobald's, "at the first," says the Domestic, "he meant but for a little pile, as I heard him say; but, after he came to entertain the queen so often there, he was forced to enlarge it, rather for the queen and her great train, and to set the poor on work, than for pomp or glory; for he ever said, it would be too big for the small living he could leave his son. . . . His lordship's extraordinary charge in entertainment of the queen was greater to him than to any of her subjects. For he entertained her at his house twelve several times, which cost him two or three thousand pounds every time, the queen lying there at his lordship's charge sometimes three weeks or a month, yea six weeks together. . . . Her majesty sometimes had also strangers and ambassadors come to her at Theobald's, where she hath been seen in as great royalty, and served as bountifully and magnificently, as at any other time or place, all at his lordship's charge; with rich shows, pleasant devices, and all manner of sports that could be devised, to the great delight of her majesty and her whole train, with great thanks of all who partook of it, and as great commendation from all that heard of it abroad." Yet Burghley was by no means a man of overgrown possessions. At his death the rental of his land did not exceed four thousand a year; and he left only about eleven thousand pounds in money, and to the value of about fourteen or fifteen thousand in plate, of which a great part was bequeathed in legacies. "And this," observes his Domestic, "was all the great wealth of so great a counsellor, living forty years together in his prince's favour, in so great reputation, so great offices, and so peaceable a time, as, if his mind had sorted to his power, he might have gathered in that time ten times the value." No; his nature, though cold, was not mean or sordid, nor his heart narrow or selfish. Neither, with all his firmness, which some might call sternness, was his temper unkind or his manner harsh, but the contrary. "In thirty years together," writes his Domestic, "he was seldom seen angry; or moved with joy in prosperity, or sorrow in

adversity. Thus his even temper was ever noted as one of his greatest virtues, until within three or four years before his death, when age (the mother of morosity), and continuance of sickness, altered even the course of his nature, with pains in his body, griefs and cares in his mind, crosses in council, and oppression with multitude of business ; . . . which, not succeeding nor sorting to his desires, so distempered his mind, as bereaved him of his wonted mildness, altered his natural disposition, and gave way to age's imperfections. But his anger was never fondly passionate nor furious. His words were but wind ; no sooner spoken than forgotten. For he would presently speak fair again. As for instance, if he had angrily spoken to one of his servants, he would almost immediately speak fair, and as it were seek to be friends with him. And commonly he would soonest do for such as he had fallen out with. Here was a noble nature, by whose anger many found more good than by others' fair flattering speeches." Other traits of his character and habits that speak well for him are afterwards mentioned. "His kindness, as nature ever leads all men, was most expressed to his children, to whom there was never man more loving nor tender-hearted . . . And, which is ever a note of good nature, if he could get his table set round with his young little children, he was then in his kingdom ; and it was an exceeding pleasure to hear what sport he would make with them, and how aptly and merrily he would talk with them ; with such pretty questions and witty allurements, as much delighted himself, the children, and the hearers. . . . He had his own children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren ordinarily at his table, sitting about him like olive branches. . . . If he might ride privately in his garden upon his little mule, or lie a day or two at his little lodge at Theobald's, retired from business or too much company, he thought it his greatest greatness and only happiness. . . . Or, if he could get any of his old acquaintance who could discourse of their youth, or of things passed in old time, it was notable to hear what merry stories he would tell. . . . He was of a

spare and temperate diet, and the finest feeder of any man that ever I saw ; eating never but of two or three dishes ; drinking never above thrice at a meal, and very seldom wine. And he would many times forbear suppers, if he found his stomach offended. And, above all things, what business soever was in his head, it was never perceived at his table, where he would be so merry, as one would imagine he had nothing else to do ; directing his speech to all men according to their qualities and capacities, so as he raised mirth out of all men's speeches, augmenting it with his own, whereby he wanted no company, so long as he was able to keep company . . . His recreation was chiefly in his books, wherewith if he had time he was more delighted than others with play at cards." Burghley's favourite book is said to have been Cicero's *Offices*: it is affirmed that to his dying day he always carried it about with him, either in his bosom or his pocket. Perhaps every man would find the profit as well as the pleasure of making some one book thus, as it were, a part of himself. The great statesman had his favourite study too, and a singular one it may seem to many persons ; it was genealogy—not one of the fashionable *logies* of the present day, but yet having an interest of its own, as well as fish-logy or shell-logy, and at any rate not ill fitted to occupy and amuse the leisure of a busy life in that age, when it was much more connected with prevailing habits of thought than now. A number of pedigrees drawn out by Lord Burghley are still preserved in the archbishop's library at Lambeth. "Books," continues the affectionate chronicler from whose interesting recollections we have borrowed so largely, "were so pleasing to him, as, when he got liberty from the queen to go unto his country house to take the air, if he found but a book worth the opening, he would rather lose his riding than his reading. And yet riding in his garden and walks, upon his little mule, was his greatest disport. But, so soon as he came in, he fell to his reading again, or else to despatching of business . . . He seldom or never played at any game, for he could play at none. Yet he would sometimes look

on a while on shooters or bowlers, as he rid abroad." In another place we are told that his reading was for the most part in Latin, French, or Italian, and that he very seldom read any English books. This may serve in part to account for the treatment Spenser is said to have had to complain of, when the queen's bounty to the poet was attempted to be checked by her grave-browed minister; he probably despised the Fairy Queen, and concluded that it could not be worth the reading, as being written in the vulgar tongue.

But we must draw to a close. Burghley, as well as her other ministers, sometimes experienced a little of the effects of Elizabeth's caprice and occasional violence of temper, but he was never to any serious extent, or for any considerable space of time, out of favour. If, also, he thought he had on some occasions reason to complain of not being sufficiently supported, or of his advice being disregarded, because some temporary favourite had possession of the royal ear, such was scarcely ever the case on any great emergency; the giving the command of the forces in Holland to Leicester was almost the only very important step which Elizabeth is known to have taken in opposition to Burghley's advice. Nor, with whatever sharpness she may have sometimes turned upon him in her fits of ill humour, did she ever suffer any one to backbite or try to undermine him in her favour; her conviction of his integrity and his value was too firm and deep-seated to be for a moment shaken in that way. And, besides, being human, it was impossible that she should not have had a genuine regard for one who had served her so long and so faithfully; they had passed together from youth to old age—out of one generation of men into a second and a third; had it been only an oak of the forest under which she had been all that while accustomed to find familiar shade and shelter, it must have become dear to her. Throughout forty years of a happy and glorious reign, he had been the main stay of her throne; she used herself to call him her spirit, and their union indeed was more like that of the soul

and the body than anything else. At the least one thinks of Burghley and Elizabeth almost as of husband and wife. Such a husband was the only sort of one suitable for the Man-Queen.

Burghley's spreading branches flourished green for a long while ; but decay must needs overtake at last whatever is earthly. The first stroke, long deferred, that fell upon him was the death of his venerable mother in March, 1587 ; next, in April, 1589, he lost his wife. He continued, however, to discharge all his public duties for some years after this ; taking a leading part in the debates of the House of Lords when parliament was sitting, as well as overlooking and directing the general course of public affairs both at home and abroad as diligently as ever with his politic head and unwearied pen. A report is preserved of an elaborate speech made by him in the parliament which met in February, 1593 (the last which sat during his time) ; several of the state papers drawn up by him that have been published are of still later date ; and of those addressed to him some are dated several years after this. In one of his letters, however, written in May, 1593, we find him speaking in strong terms of his sufferings from broken health. The letter is to his son Robert, and, having finished the business part of it, he adds in a postscript, " If I may not have some leisure to cure my head, I shall shortly ease it in my grave." His thread of life, however, was spun out for a considerable space longer ; his death did not take place till the 4th of August, 1598 ; " wherein," says his domestic biographer, in concluding a detailed account of his last hours, which, like all his life, were radiant with piety, " one thing was observed as most strange, namely, that, though many watched to see when he should die, he lay looking so sweetly, and went away so mildly, as in a sleep, that it could scarce be perceived when the breath went out of his body."

Besides his two sons, Thomas by his first wife, who was in 1605 created Earl of Exeter, and was the ancestor of the present Marquess of Exeter, and Robert,

by his second wife, created Baron Cecil, in 1603, and Earl of Salisbury, in 1605, the ancestor of the present Marquess of Salisbury, Lord Burghley had by his second wife two daughters, Anne, married (unhappily) to Edward Earl of Oxford, and Elizabeth, married to William Wentworth, Esq., son and heir of the Lord Wentworth, whom, however, he predeceased. He had also two other sons and a daughter, who all died in infancy.



It took about two centuries to weld into a common tongue the two perfectly distinct languages spoken in England from the time of the Norman Conquest ; about two more to shape that common tongue into the general form of what is now called English ; a third space of the same length to bring the compound thus produced to the state in all essential respects in which it has remained ever since, and will no doubt remain while it continues to subsist. In other words, for the first two hundred years the Saxon and Norman were still two separate languages, whose streams were distinguishable even while flowing in the same channel ; in the second period the two mingled elements were in a state of effervescence, or of something like contention ; in the third, they were perfectly interfused and united, but still in a state of transition, and only advancing to maturity. By the middle of the twelfth century, Saxon and Norman had run together into one body ; by the middle of the four-

teenth that body had acquired a perfect unity of spirit, character, and tendency ; by the middle of the sixteenth it had achieved its full growth and ultimate form and condition.

The completion of the first of these three periods produced nothing which has lived in or can be said to belong to our literature. What was then accomplished, indeed, was rather the destruction of the two old tongues than the creation of a new one. But the termination of the second period produced the poetry of Chaucer ; the termination of the third, the poetry of Spenser. While Chaucer, however, is one of the greatest writers of our own or any other country, his poetry is hidden or obscured to the popular eye under the disguise of a language that has become to a great extent dead or obsolete—that is not, either in its vocables or its grammatical forms, the English that we now speak, but requires to be in great part translated, like a foreign tongue, in order to be made generally intelligible. Spenser has the advantage of having written after the language had become substantially what it still remains, and of being, with the exception of a word here and there, as universally and readily intelligible as any poet of our own day. While Chaucer, therefore, has been properly called the morning star of our poetry, Spenser is its morning sun. The daylight of our literature begins with him.

As for the intervening time between Chaucer and Spenser, it was the era only of imitatorship and abortive effort. The greater part of the poetry of that grey of the morning is a mere reflection of Chaucer ; what of it aims at being anything more is still only either a feeble or a lurid light even when it is most original. Lydgate may serve for an exemplification of its more common character ; Surrey, Wyatt, and Gascoigne, of that of it which, aiming at a note of its own, was still as it were too timid to raise its voice properly ; Skelton and Buckhurst, of what of it evinced most of force and daring, though as yet rather in contest than in conquest. The first voice of song heard in this new era that was really full and free was that of Spenser.

Edmund Spenser was certainly a native of London. This he has told us himself in the plainest words in one of his poems—his *Prothalamion*, or spousal verse, on the marriages of the Ladies Elizabeth and Katherine Somerset—in which his words are,—

“ — merry London, my most kindly nurse,
That to me gave this life's first native source.”

The tradition is, that he drew his first breath in the district of East Smithfield, near the Tower. But no record of his birth has been discovered. The former inscription on his monument in Westminster Abbey, which was put up many years after his death, in stating him to have been born in the year 1510, undoubtedly exhibited an entirely inadmissible date ; but there are some difficulties attendant upon the account commonly given which makes him not to have come into the world till 1552 or 1553. That date has been deduced from what he says in one of his sonnets (the 60th), in which, writing in 1593 or 1594, he speaks or seems to speak of having then lived forty and one years, or, as he puts it, one year during which the planet of Love had shone clear to him, and forty which he had wasted “in long languishment,” or without that consolation. But perhaps we ought to add some space in which he could not well be said to be either a languishing or a prosperous lover. Yet that again would carry back the time of his birth rather too far for the known dates of some of the events of his life. No very certain conclusion, however, it must be confessed, can be grounded on the evidence of the sonnet, the meaning of which is extremely obscure and disputable.

In his printed works Spenser repeatedly claims kindred with the chief family of his name, the Spensers, or Spencers, of Althorpe, from whom both the Earls Spencer and the Dukes of Marlborough are sprung. In the *Prothalamion*, already cited, while he intimates that London was his birth-place, he adds,—

“ Though from another place I take my name,
An house of ancient fame.”

By taking his name he must be supposed to mean taking it by descent or connexion; the mere identity of surname would not have been worth mentioning. But there is abundant evidence that the relationship was admitted by the Spensers of Althorpe, as well as claimed by the poet. The daughters of Sir John Spenser of Althorpe, the head of the family, were the principal persons, after the queen, the protection of whose names he was wont to seek, as was the fashion of that age, for his published works. He has three dedications addressed to as many of these ladies. In that prefixed to his 'Mother Hubbard's Tale,' which is addressed to the Lady Compton and Monteagle, Sir John's fifth daughter, Anne, he observes that he has often sought opportunity by some good means to make known to her ladyship the humble affection and faithful duty which he has always professed and is bound to bear to that house from which she springs, and he beseeches her to accept the present poem as a pledge of the profession he thus makes, until with some other more worthy labour he may redeem it out of her hands, and discharge his utmost duty. The peculiar connexion which this language implies is indicated with more distinctness in the dedication of his 'Muiopotmos' to Lady Carey, Sir John Spenser's second daughter, Elizabeth, in which he describes himself as glorying to advance her ladyship's excellent parts and noble virtues, and to spend himself in honouring her; "not so much," he adds, "for your great bounty [which may mean merely what we should now call goodness, or kindness, in a general sense] to myself, which yet may not be unminded; *nor for name or kindred's sake by you vouchsafed*, being also regardable; as for that honourable name which ye have by your brave deserts purchased to yourself, and spread in the mouths of all men." Still more explicitly, in the dedication of his 'Tears of the Muses' to the Lady Strange, Sir John's youngest daughter, Alice, he says, "The causes for which ye have thus deserved of me to be honoured (if honour it be at all) are both your particular bounties *and also some private bands of affinity, which it hath pleased your*

ladyship to acknowledge." These three poems were all published in 1591. And there can be no doubt that it is to the same ladies he alludes in his 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again,' where he says,—

"Ne less praiseworthy are the sisters three,
The honour of the noble family
Of which I meanest boast myself to be,
And most that unto them I am so nigh."

It is only within these few years, however, that any clue has been discovered to the particular branch of the Spensers to which the poet belonged. The discovery was made by a living descendant of the same stock, Mr. F. C. Spenser, of Halifax, and was communicated by him to the public in a communication which appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for August, 1842. The evidence produced in this paper may be considered to make it nearly certain that Spenser's immediate progenitors were the owners of a small property still known by the name of *Spensers*, lying about two miles to the north-west of Burnley, in the eastern part of Lancashire. Edmund is far from being one of the most common of English Christian names; nor is it found to prevail in the pedigree of any other branch of the Spensers, as far as is known. If it were only that among the old Lancashire Spensers there appeared to have been several who bore this name of Edmund, even that would afford some presumption that the family of the poet was to be sought for in that quarter. But it chanced that, besides Edmund, we have another not very common name in the poet's family. Not only the poet himself, but both his grandson and his great-great-grandson, by his eldest son, bore the name of Edmund; and it appears that another of his sons bore the equally far from common name of Lawrence. Now it turns out that both Edmund and Lawrence, comparatively rare as they are in general, were the most usual of all Christian names among the Spensers formerly seated in the neighbourhood of Burnley. In the various parish registers of the district Mr. F. C. Spenser found, from about the middle of the sixteenth to

the end of the seventeenth century, above forty entries containing the names of either Edmund or Lawrence Spenser. The probability thus arising that the names of Edmund and Lawrence in the family of the poet were derived from this quarter will be admitted to be very strong. It appears also that the head of these Lancashire Spensers in the time of Elizabeth was an Edmund Spenser of Worsthorne: Worsthorne is a village about two miles east of Burnley, and this Edmund Spenser was the successor of an Adam le Spenser, who had held the same lands by military tenure in the early part of the reign of Edward II. It is further stated by Mr. F. C. Spenser that a communication he has had from John Travers, Esq., of Birch-hill, Cork, who is descended from a sister of the poet, confirms his opinion that the family were from Lancashire; and he afterwards speaks of having *ascertained* that they were from that particular county, on the authority of Mr. Travers.

It has always, indeed, been believed that Spenser had relations in the north of England, and we shall presently find that he certainly spent a part of his early life there. Mr. F. C. Spenser conceives his grandfather to have been a Lawrence Spenser, whose burial is recorded in the register of the New Church in Pendle, the parish in which Spensers is situated, to have taken place in 1584. Spenser's father had probably emigrated from his native district to the south, and at last settled in London. Mr. Collier, in his 'Life of Shakespeare,' has lately noticed the existence of an Edmund Spenser at Kingsbury, in Warwickshire, in 1569, and has hazarded a conjecture that this may have been the father of the poet.

This year, 1569, it so happens, is the next after that of his birth in which we have any certain mention of the poet; but the same year is also curiously abundant in notices, whether of him or of some other person or persons of the same names is doubtful. In the first place, as we have just seen, there is the Edmund Spenser registered as then resident in Warwickshire; it is not impossible that this may have been the poet himself. Then, we have an Edmund Spenser who is recorded in the Books of the

Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber to have that year brought despatches to her Majesty from Sir Henry Norris, ambassador in France: Mr. Peter Cunningham, to whom we are indebted for the discovery of this entry, and for its announcement in his 'Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court,' published in 1842 by the Shakespeare Society, is inclined to believe that it refers to the poet. Again, we find George Turberville, who had recently gone out to Russia as secretary to the English ambassador, addressing an epistle in verse from that country in 1569 to a friend whom he calls Spenser, and who is stated by Anthony Wood to have been Edmund Spenser the poet; the epistle is printed along with Turberville's 'Tragical Tales,' and also in the first volume of Hakluyt's Voyages, both of which works appeared in Spenser's lifetime, and when he was the only person to whom the name used as it is in this instance could well be understood to apply. Yet, if he be really the person referred to in all or any of these cases, it is difficult to believe that he could have been at this time no older than sixteen or seventeen. Even nineteen, which he would be if we carry back his birth to 1550, seems too early an age either for the intimate friend of Turberville, who was then a man of about thirty, or for one already employed as an ambassador's courier. A fourth fact of the same date is still more difficult to reconcile than any thing that has yet been mentioned with the common supposition that Spenser was born in 1552 or 1553. In a work called Vander Noodt's Theatre of Worldlings, which was printed at London in this year, 1569, are found translations in rhyme of six sonnets of Petrarch's, which twelve years afterwards were reprinted as Spenser's in a collection of his minor poems, under the title of 'The Visions of Petrarch formerly translated.' Were these translations, then, which have besides all the characteristics of his style and manner, produced by him when he was only a boy of sixteen or seventeen? We can only say that they were certainly composed in or before the year 1569. And so were translations in blank verse, also found in Vander Noodt's book, of eleven sonnets of

the French poet Du Bellay, which in like manner were reprinted as Spenser's in the same collection of 1591, with only such alterations as were required to convert them into rhyme. There can hardly be a doubt that Spenser was really the author of both these sets of translations, and also of those of a seventh sonnet of Petrarch and four others of Du Bellay, which likewise appeared in the Theatre of Worldlings in 1569, but were not reprinted.

Upon the whole, of the four notices that have been mentioned, both the first, that of the Edmund Spenser of Warwickshire, and the second, that of the government courier, may be considered as most probably referring to some other person than the poet. The former may have been the poet's father, as Mr. Collier suggests: the latter seems most likely to have been the same Mr. Spenser who is mentioned by James VI. of Scotland in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated at St. Andrew's, 2nd July, 1583, as having been detained by him that he might carry the letter to England; and also perhaps with a Mr. Spenser who appears to have been repeatedly deputed from the Irish government to England about or before the year 1580, and who is spoken of in a letter of that date from Sir William Pelham, then at the head of the administration of affairs in Ireland, as "now growing into years, and having many ways deserved some consideration from her Majesty." But the Spenser to whom Turbervile in 1569 addressed his epistle from Russia, and also the person who translated the sonnets which appeared the same year in Vander Noodt's Theatre of Worldlings, we believe to have been no other than the afterwards celebrated poet.

The one thing, however, which is certain is that it was in this year 1569 that Spenser went to the university. He was admitted of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, on the 20th of May; and it may be inferred that his nearest relations were in rather humble circumstances from his having been entered as a sizar, or a student of the lowest rank. All that is further known of his academic course is, that he took his degree of B.A. in 1573

and that of M.A. in 1576. We have both direct testimony, and, what is still more satisfactory, the abundant evidence of his writings, to the fact that he was one of the most learned scholars of his time; yet it does not appear that he ever obtained any other university honour except his degrees. There may be some foundation for the tradition preserved by Aubrey, and derived by him from Dryden, that he failed in a competition for a fellowship of his college, although it was not, as Aubrey's story makes it to have been, the one which Bishop Andrews got. There are traces of his having met with some disappointment, or mortification, at the hands of the authorities of Pembroke Hall, his connexion with which is nowhere alluded to in his poetry, although he has several times commemorated Cambridge as his *Alma Mater*. While resident at Cambridge he contracted an intimate friendship with Gabriel Harvey, who was first of Christ's Church and afterwards of Trinity Hall, and who became one of the most distinguished scholars and writing men of his time, but is most famous as the antagonist and butt of Nash and Greene and the other wits of that knot. Harvey, who became a Doctor of Laws in 1585, survived till 1630; and he and Spenser would appear to have been of about the same age, so that the latter cannot well be supposed to have been born much before the date commonly assigned.

Upon leaving the University, which he did probably in 1576 or 1577, Spenser is stated to have gone to reside with some relations that he had in the north of England. This account of all the biographers remarkably accords with and confirms the recent discovery of his family having been originally from Lancashire. That he did about this time reside for a space in the north country we have the express testimony of the author (whoever he may have been) of the gloss or commentary published by Spenser himself with his *Shepherd's Calendar* in 1580. He is spoken of, too, as having been "master of our northern dialect" by Dryden, who appears to have taken a great interest in Spenser's history, and who had,

as we shall find immediately, peculiar opportunities of obtaining information respecting him.

It was during this residence in the north that Spenser fell in love with the lady whom he has celebrated in his *Shepherd's Calendar* under the name of Rosalind. This is clear from the Sixth Eclogue of that work, which is a lamentation over his ill success in his suit, and in which his friend Harvey, there called Hobinol, is made to entreat him to forsake the soil by which he is so bewitched, and

Those hills where harborough^a nis^b to see,
Nor holly bush, nor brere,^c nor winding ditch,
And to the dales resort, where shepherds rich,
And fruitful flocks, beend every where to see.

“This is no poetical fiction,” says the author of the Gloss, “but unfeignedly spoken of the poet self, who for special occasion of private affairs (as I have been partly of himself informed), and for his more preferment, removed out of the North parts, and came into the South, as Hobinol, indeed, advised him privately.” “Rosalind,” the commentator further informs us, in a note upon the First Eclogue, “is also a feigned name, which, being well ordered, will bewray the very name of his love and mistress, whom by that name he coloureth.” Again in his Gloss on the Fourth Eclogue, where Harvey, or Hobinol, speaks of his friend, under the name of Colin, as wooing “the widow’s daughter of the glen,” the annotator writes:—“He calleth Rosalind the widow’s daughter of the glen, that is, of a country hamlet or borough, which I think is rather said to colour and conceal the person, than simply [that is, plainly or truly] spoken. For it is well known, even in spite of Colin and Hobinol, that she is a gentlewoman of no mean house, nor endued with any vulgar or common gifts both of nature and manners; but such, indeed, as need neither Colin be ashamed to have her made known by his verses, nor

^a Harbour, habitation.

^b Is not.

^c Briar.

^d Be, are.

Hobinol be grieved that so she should be commended to immortality for her rare and singular virtues." There is a notice of Rosalind in a printed letter of Harvey's, which confirms this account, implying, as it does, that she was not only a gentlewoman, but quite capable of appreciating her scholarly and gifted lover: he speaks of her as "gentle Mistress Rosalind," who had once declared Spenser "to have all the intelligences at command, and another time christened him Signior Pegaso." Aubrey reports, on the authority of Dryden, that Rosalind was a kinswoman of the lady of Sir Erasmus Dryden, that poet's grandfather. But Spenser is believed to have delineated this his first lady-love and her history at full length in the Seventh and Eighth Cantos of the Sixth Book of his *Fairy Queen*, where, having been introduced "riding upon an ass, led by a carle and fool," she is thus farther described:—

She was a lady of great dignity,
 And lifted up to honourable place,
 Famous through all the Land of Faïry,
 Though of mean parentage and kindred base;
 Yet decked with wondrous gifts of nature's grace,
 That all men did her person much admire
 And praise the feature of her goodly face;
 The beams whereof did kindle lovely fire
 In the hearts of many a knight and many a gentle
 squire.

But she thereof grew proud and insolent,
 That none she worthy thought to be her fere,^e
 But scorned them all that love unto her meant;
 Yet was she loved of many a worthy peer;
 Unworthy she to be beloved so dear,
 That could not weigh of worthiness aright;
 For beauty is more glorious, bright, and clear,
 The more it is admired of many a wight,
 And noblest she that served is of noblest knight.

But this coy damsel thought, contrariwise,
 That such proud looks would make her praised more,

^e Companion, mate.

And that, the more she did all love despise,
 The more would wretched lovers her adore.
 What cared she who sighed for her sore,
 Or who did wail or watch the weary night?
 Let them that list their luckless lot deplore;
 She was born free, not bound to any wight,
 And so would ever live, and love her own delight.

Through such her stubborn stiffness and hard heart
 Many a wretch for want of remedy
 Did languish long in life-consuming smart,
 And at the last through dreary dolour die;
 Whilst she, the lady of her liberty,
 Did boast her beauty had such sovereign might,
 That with the only twinkle of her eye
 She could or save or spill whom she could hight:^f
 What could the Gods do more, but do it more aright?

The notice of the powers above, however, is at last attracted to such arrogance and selfishness; and Mirabella, being arraigned at the bar of Cupid's court, is adjudged by the God to wander the world on an ass, led by the hideous giant Disdain, and driven on its way by the scourge of the fool Scorn, till she shall have saved as many lovers as she had destroyed.

So now she had been wandering two whole years
 Throughout the world in this uncomely case,
 Wasting her goodly hue in heavy tears,
 And her good days in dolorous disgrace;
 Yet had she not in all these two years' space
 Saved but two; yet in two years before,
 Through her despicable pride, whilst love lacked place,
 She had destroyed two and twenty more.
 Aye me, how could her love make half amends there-
 fore!

She is represented as carrying toilfully a bottle before her, and a wallet on her back; and the following is the account she gives of this part of her penance:—

^f Name.

" Here in this bottle," said the sorry maid,
 " I put the tears of my contrition,
 Till to the brim I have it full defrayed;^s
 And in this bag, which I behind me don,
 I put repentance for things past and gone.
 Yet is the bottle leak,^h and bag so torn,
 That all which I put in falls out anon,
 And is behind me trodden down of Scorn,
 Who mocketh all my pain, and laughs the more I
 mourn."

If the supposition that Mirabella represents Rosalind be well founded, some light perhaps might be got for the discovery of the lady's real name from the family history of the Drydens. The circumstance that, although of elevated station and also of cultivated mind, she was of humble origin is, if true, a distinctive mark by which there might be a hope of identifying her.

Dryden farther told Aubrey that Spenser was an acquaintance of his grandfather, Sir Erasmus, and a frequent guest at his house, which was at Canons Ashby, in Northamptonshire. "The chamber there at Sir Erasmus's," adds Aubrey, "is still called Mr. Spenser's chamber." It was probably here that the poet met with Rosalind—unless we are to suppose that it was his acquaintance with her that introduced him to the Dryden family.

At all events he appears to have been still entangled in this unprosperous attachment, when, by the advice of his friend Harvey, as it would seem, he was induced to leave the north in 1578 or 1579. He is stated, as we have seen, to have transferred himself to the south "for special occasion of private affairs," as well as "for his more preferment;" and his connexion with London as his birthplace, and probably also the residence of his father or of some of his nearest relations, may have had a share in bringing him thither. He now became known to Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Sidney, in what way is variously related. The following is Aubrey's version of

^s Filled.

^h Leaky.

the story, in his *Life*, or short biographical notice, of Sidney :—" Among others, Mr. Edmund Spenser made his address to him, and brought his *Fairy Queen*. Sir Philip was busy at his study, and his servant delivered Mr. Spenser's book to his master, who laid it by, thinking it might be such kind of stuff as he was frequently troubled with. Mr. Spenser staid so long that his patience was wearied, and went his way discontented, and never intended to come again. When Sir Philip perused it, he was so exceedingly delighted with it, that he was extremely sorry he was gone, and where to send for him he knew not. After much inquiry he learned his lodging, and sent for him, and ordered his servant to give him ——— pounds in gold. His servant said that that was too much. 'No,' said Sir Philip, 'he is ———,' and ordered an addition. From this time there was a great friendship between them to his dying day." This is evidently a blundering account ; for, instead of the *Fairy Queen*, or even the first part of the poem, having been finished at this time, as seems to have been imagined, it may be reasonably questioned if any portion of the poem, in the form in which we have it, was yet written,—although another of Aubrey's anecdotes of Spenser is, that "lately at the college (meaning, apparently, Pembroke Hall, Cambridge), taking down the wainscot of his chamber, they found an abundance of cards with stanzas of the *Fairy Queen* written on them." The story, however, in a later edition has been improved into the following form as it stands in the *Life* of Spenser prefixed to the *Fairy Queen* in 1758 by Church, who says that he sets it down as he finds it related, not knowing how far it may appear worthy of credit :—" It is said he was a stranger to Mr. Sidney (afterwards Sir Philip) when he had begun to write his *Fairy Queen*, and that he took occasion to go to Leicester House, and to introduce himself by sending in to Mr. Sidney a copy of the Ninth Canto of the First Book of that poem. Mr. Sidney was much surprised with the description of Despair in that canto, and is said to have shown an unusual kind of transport on the discovery of

so new and uncommon a genius. After he had read some stanzas, he turned to his steward, and bid him give the person that brought those verses fifty pounds; but upon reading the next stanza he ordered the sum to be doubled. The steward was no less surprised than his master, and thought it his duty to make some delay in executing so sudden and lavish a bounty; but, upon reading one stanza more, Mr. Sidney raised his gratuity to two hundred pounds, and commanded the steward to give it immediately, lest, as he read further, he might be tempted to give away his whole estate." 'This is a very good story; but how much of it may be true is another question. It may possibly enough have grown out of nothing more than the simple fact that the canto in question was a favourite with Sidney, and that when he first read it, perhaps long after this time, he expressed his admiration in some enthusiastic fashion. It is most probable that Spenser was introduced to Sidney by Harvey, by whose advice, as we have seen, he appears to have come to the south. The most obvious and natural interpretation of various passages in the *Shepherd's Calendar* is, that Harvey was desirous of bringing his friend to participate in advantages and enjoyments of which he was himself already in possession. This is the only consistent meaning that can be given to the dialogue represented as taking place between them in the *Sixth Eclogue*. We find Harvey spoken of by Spenser in 1579 as familiarly known to Sidney and his associates at least by reputation; and there is no reason for supposing that they were personally strangers.

Sidney, as the best service he could do his new friend, made him known to his uncle the Earl of Leicester, the powerful royal favourite; and Spenser appears to have resided sometimes at Leicester House, the Earl's town mansion, sometimes at Penshurst, the seat of the Sidneys in Kent. He writes to Harvey in 1579 and 1580 from the former, and his *Shepherd's Calendar* is believed to have been, partly at least, written at the latter. In the *Fourth Eclogue* he calls himself Colin "the Southern Shepherd's boy;" upon which the Gloss has this explanation:—

“Seemeth hereby that Colin pertaineth to some southern nobleman, and perhaps in Surrey or Kent, the rather because he so often nameth the Kentish Downs, and before *As lithe as lass of Kent*.” So again, in one of the annotations upon the Sixth Eclogue, the fruitful dales for which Hobinol, or Harvey, invites him to forsake the rugged and barren north, are described as “the south parts where he now abideth; which, though they be full of hills and woods (for Kent is very hilly and woody, and therefore so called, for *Kantsh* in the Saxons’ tongue signifieth *woody*), yet in respect of the north parts they be called dales: for indeed the north is counted the higher country.”

Spenser employed part of his time, when he first became acquainted with Sidney, unprofitably enough, in the practice of a new species of writing with which he found Sidney and several of his friends at the moment greatly occupied and enamoured—an attempt to subjugate English verse to the laws of the ancient Greek and Latin prosody. Of this absurd novelty, which went by the name of English versifying, Harvey claimed the honour of being the inventor; and that circumstance affords a further presumption in favour of the belief that he and Sidney were acquainted. Spenser went so far into the folly as to perpetuate some uncommonly bad hexameters, pentameters, and trimeter iambics, which have been preserved; but it may be doubted if he ever was serious in his professions of adherence to the new system, and at any rate he very soon abandoned it. But besides what he did in this style, much of which is no doubt lost (if that can be called a loss), he must have already produced a great quantity of verse before he came to London, or had been long there.

From some letters which passed between him and Harvey in 1579 and 1580, and which were immediately afterwards published by Harvey, from the commentary on the Shepherd’s Calendar, and other sources, there have been collected the following titles of works which were either finished or in progress before the end of the last-mentioned year:—‘The Fairy Queen,’ begun, though

whether the same poem with that not published till ten years after this time may be doubted; 'Nine Comedies;' a poem, or collection of poems, entitled 'Dreams;' 'The Dying Pelican;' 'Slumber,' otherwise called 'A Sen-night's Slumber;' 'The Court of Cupid;' a collection of 'Legends;' another of 'Pageants;' another of 'Son-nets;' a poem in *English versifying*, entitled 'Epithala-mion Thamesis,' probably little more than projected; a poetical 'Translation of Moschus's Idyllion of Wandering Love;' a prose treatise entitled 'The English Poet;' a work in Latin, probably a poem, on the history of the family of the Earl of Leicester, entitled 'Stemmata Dudleiana;' and 'The Shepherd's Calendar.'

All these works, except the last-named, and so much, if any, as may remain of the original 'Fairy Queen' in the existing poem so called, are lost; as are also trans-lations of 'Ecclesiastes,' and of 'The Song of Solo-mon,' 'The Seven [Penitential] Psalms,' 'The Hours of the Lord,' 'The Sacrifice of a Sinner,' 'The Hell of Lovers,' 'Purgatory,' and other pieces, even the titles of which have not been preserved, that are mentioned as having been written by him without their dates being stated. We only know that they had all been produced before the year 1591.

The first work which Spenser sent to the press (unless we are to reckon the translations published in Vander Noodt's book ten years before) was his collection of pastorals, one for every month of the year, entitled 'The Shepherd's Calendar,' which appeared in the end of the year 1579. Even that did not carry his name; it is only introduced by a short dedication in verse to Sidney, having attached to it the signature IMMERITO, the same which the author assumes in his correspondence with Harvey. The Shepherd's Calendar, though un-equally executed, may be pronounced to have evinced the highest poetical genius that had appeared in England since Chaucer, and to be the earliest poem of equal merit on the whole in the existing form of the language. Nothing that had been produced either by Surrey or Buckhurst had shown anything like the same all-inform-

ing poetic light and life. If parts of it, too, have now lost much of their interest, those were the very parts that would most take the largest class of readers in that age. It is to a great extent a theological and even puritanical poem: following the steps of Chaucer and the author of the *Visions of Pierce Ploughman*, who had both inveighed against the abuses of the church, Spenser was naturally led to take up the character of an ecclesiastical reformer; and, besides, his connexion with Leicester, who courted the Puritans, impelled him in the same direction. Probably the work was indebted for a good deal of its popularity to the spirit which it thus breathed, and which would enlist in its favour the most excited, energetic, and growing party in the country. Accordingly it was reprinted no fewer than four times in the author's lifetime; in 1581, 1586, 1591, and 1597. All these early editions, however, are without the name of the author; and the *Shepherd's Calendar* appears not to have been generally known to be the composition of Spenser for several years after its first publication.

Spenser, when he threw himself upon London, probably looked to living by his pen: he had, for some reason or other, adopted no profession, at least as far as is known, and his natural resource was literature, which already in London afforded to a considerable number of adventurers such a support as a spar sometimes is to a man struggling in the water. The *Shepherd's Calendar* was probably sold to a bookseller; it seems at least to have been early regarded as a property, having between the first and second editions been assigned by the original owner to a new publisher. In one of Harvey's letters, written in 1580, he rallies his friend on the prospect of "living by *Dying Pelicans*, and purchasing great lands and lordships with the money which his *Calendar* and *Dreams* have [afforded] and will afford him." Spenser, however, soon began to look to other patronage than that of the booksellers. In his first letter to Harvey, written from Leicester House in October, 1579, we find him alluding, apparently, to some design which had been entertained of having him introduced at

court: "Your desire," he says, "to hear of my late being with her majesty must die in itself." From the sequel of the same letter, and from a long valedictory effusion of Latin verse inserted in it, we learn that he was then preparing to set out immediately for the continent on some mission from Leicester. "I beseech you," he writes, "by all your courtesies and graces, let me be answered ere I go; which will be (I hope, I fear, I think) the next week, if I can be dispatched of my lord. I go thither as sent by him, and maintained most-what of him; and there am to employ my time, my body, my mind, to his honour's service." There is no reason, however, for believing that he did actually go abroad at this time. At any rate, if he did, he was not long away. If he was not in London when his *Shepherd's Calendar* was entered in the register of the Stationers' Company on the 5th of December of this same year, he certainly was in April of the year following; for he dates his next letter to Harvey from Westminster on the 10th of that month. Nor does he in that letter make any allusion to his having been abroad. Very soon after this, however, he received an appointment which carried him out of England. In the beginning of August of this year, 1580, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton was sent over to Ireland as Lord Deputy, and Spenser accompanied him as his private secretary. They arrived in Dublin on the 12th of August, and the Lord Deputy was sworn in on the 7th of September. Grey was related to Leicester and the Sidneys, and there can be little doubt that Spenser was indebted for his secretaryship to their recommendation. He evidently, however, soon came to feel much more than a mere official attachment to the Lord Deputy. Grey, whose government was signalised by some military proceedings against the insurgent natives of great vigour, and which exposed him to much animadversion, figures as one of the most lauded heroes of the Fairy Queen, and both in that poem, and, without the disguise of allegory, in his prose 'View of the State of Ireland,' Spenser has eulogised and defended his administration without re-

serve and with extraordinary ardour. His zeal did not go unrewarded. On the 22nd of March, 1581, he received the additional appointment of Clerk of the Decrees and Recognizances of Chancery; and the same year he obtained by royal grant a lease at an annual rent of 300*l.* of the Abbey of Enniscorthy, with the attached castle and manor, in the county of Wexford, which he conveyed on the 9th of December, no doubt for a valuable consideration, to another person, from whom it was afterwards purchased by Sir Henry Wallop, the ancestor of the Earls of Portsmouth, in whose family the property still remains. It now yields an annual rental of many thousand pounds. Grey was recalled from his government in the end of August, 1582, and Spenser is supposed to have returned with him to England; but he appears to have nevertheless retained his office of Clerk in the Irish Court of Chancery, nor did he quit it till the 22nd of June, 1588, when he exchanged it for that of Clerk of the Council of Munster. Meanwhile, on the 27th of June, 1586, as is commonly stated, he had obtained from the queen a grant of 3028 acres of land, consisting of the manor and castle of Kilcolman, in the barony of Fermoy, and county of Cork, being a portion of the immense forfeited estates of the Earl of Desmond, the final suppression of whose rebellion had been Lord Grey's capital achievement. A late writer, however, Mr. Hardiman, to a long note in the first volume of whose 'Irish Minstrelsy,' published in 1831, we have been indebted for several new facts, makes the date of this grant to be, on the authority of the original *fiat* in the Rolls Office, Dublin, the 26th of October, 1591. The common account of the latter portion of Spenser's life is wrong throughout, if he was not seated at Kilcolman before this. It may be a mistake, indeed, to suppose that he returned to England with Lord Grey in 1582, or that he ever was out of Ireland from 1580 to 1590; but if we are to suppose that he had not acquired possession of Kilcolman before the latter year, how are we to interpret his own relation in his 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again,' where he

represents Raleigh, under the name of the Shepherd of the Ocean, as having come to him at Kilcolman, and taken him with him to England, where he was introduced at court, and bountifully rewarded for his minstrelsy by Elizabeth, whom he calls Cynthia, and of his obligations to whom and to Raleigh the poem is in fact mainly a celebration? This visit to England must, apparently, have been that which he made for the purpose of sending to press the first part of his *Fairy Queen*, which was entered in the Stationers' Register on the 1st of December, 1589, and published in 1590.

The *Fairy Queen*, as yet consisting only of the three first books, was dedicated in a short inscription to Elizabeth; and in February, 1591, her majesty conferred upon Spenser a pension of fifty pounds a year. His new work, the first in which his name was given to the world, had now raised him to the highest reputation and popularity. In this same year, 1591, his bookseller, William Ponsonby, published, in a small quarto volume, a collection of all his other pieces which he could procure, under the title of '*Complaints; containing sundry small Poems of the World's Vanity;*' with an Address to "*The Gentle Reader,*" in which he says, "Since my late setting forth of the *Fairy Queen*, finding that it hath found a favourable passage amongst you, I have sithence endeavoured, by all good means, for the better increase and accomplishment of your delights, to get into my hands such small poems of the same author's, as I heard were dispersed abroad in sundry hands, and not easy to be come by by himself; some of them having been diversely embezzled and purloined from him since his departure over sea." The pieces of which this collection consists are, *The Ruins of Time* (an elegy on Sir Philip Sidney, and therefore written since 1586); '*The Tears of the Muses*' (a lamentation over the decay of poetry and learning); and a paraphrastic translation of '*Virgil's Gnat,*' described as having been "long since dedicated to the most noble and excellent lord, the Earl of Leicester, late deceased;" '*Mother Hubbard's Tale,*' stated in the Dedication to the Lady Compton and Mont-

eagle to have been long since composed in the raw conceit of youth; 'The Ruins of Rome,' translated from the French of Bellay; 'Muiopotmos, or the Tale of the Butterfly' (apparently an allegory, and dated 1590); 'Twelve Sonnets, entitled 'Visions of the World's Vanity;' Fifteen, entitled 'The Visions of Bellay' (eleven of them being rhyming versions of so many of those of which translations into blank verse had appeared twenty-one years before in Vander Noodt's 'Theatre of Worldlings,' with four not inserted in that work); and Seven, entitled 'The Visions of Petrarch, formerly translated' (being the six printed by Vander Noodt with one additional).

It has been commonly assumed that Spenser had returned to Ireland before this collection appeared, from Ponsonby's expression, "since his departure over sea." But these words seem rather to refer to his original removal to Ireland in 1580. At all events, he was in London on the 1st of January, 1592, as appears from the date of his dedication to the Marchioness of Northampton of his next publication, his 'Daphnida,' an elegy on Douglas Howard, daughter of Lord Howard, and wife of Arthur Gorges, Esq. It is not probable that he made two visits to England within so brief a space. He seems, however, to have returned to Ireland some time in 1592, and to have resided at Kilcolman for the next three or four years. Meanwhile, according to a document quoted by Mr. Hardiman, he had assigned, no doubt for a pecuniary consideration, his office of clerk of the council of Munster to another person. In 1595 appeared his 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again,' accompanied by his 'Astrophel,' and his 'Mourning Muse of Thestylis,' both commemorative of Sir Philip Sidney. The same year he published, in another volume, his 'Amoretti,' or series of eighty-eight sonnets relating the progress of his courtship with another love, who had at length supplanted Rosalind, together with his splendid 'Epithalamion' written in celebration of his marriage. The marriage is spoken of as having taken place on St. Barnabas's day, or the 11th of June; the year was most

probably 1594; the ceremony seems to have been performed in the town of Cork; of the bride nothing is known except that she was of obscure parentage, and that her name was Elizabeth—which was also, Spenser intimates, that of his mother.

He again visited England in 1596, and brought out at London the second edition of his 'Fairy Queen,' now extended to six books. This was followed, the same year, first by a volume containing a reprint of the 'Daphnida,' together with his 'Prothalamion' or spousal song on the marriages of the Ladies Elizabeth and Katherine Somerset, daughters of the Earl of Worcester; and afterwards by another containing his 'Four Hymns on Love and Beauty.' The dedication of these 'Hymns' to the Countesses of Cumberland and Warwick is dated at Greenwich, the 1st of September, 1596. Although the two first are stated by him to have been composed in the greener times of his youth, they were the last of his productions which Spenser sent to the press. He probably returned to Ireland early in 1597; in September of the next year he was recommended by the queen to the Irish government to be sheriff of Cork; but soon after the breaking out of Tyrone's rebellion in October, 1598, his house was attacked and burnt to the ground by a party of the insurgents, and he with difficulty made his escape with his wife and, it is commonly said, two sons, a third, if we may credit what Ben Jonson told Drummond of Hawthornden, having perished in the flames. But, according to another account, Spenser left four children, three sons and a daughter, who all grew up to be married; so that it may be hoped the story of the fifth child, in so short a space of time, and its calamitous fate, is fabulous. He came over with his family to London; and, after an illness of some weeks, died at an inn in King Street, Westminster, on the 16th of January, 1599.

We have mentioned all his known poetical productions, excepting only three or four complimentary Sonnets which have been collected from the publications of

other writers, a few very short pieces, not amounting to a hundred lines in all, and the two additional Cantos of the *Fairy Queen*, with the fragment of a third, supposed to have been intended for some subsequent Book of which the subject should be the *Legend of Constancy*, which were first published, along with a new edition of the rest of the poem, in 1609. The poem entitled '*Britain's Ida*,' published as his in 1628, is undoubtedly spurious. Spenser's only prose work that has come down to us is his '*View of the State of Ireland*, written dialogue-wise between Eudoxus and Irenaeus,' which was first published by Sir James Ware in 1633. It appears to have been finished in 1596; and is supposed to have been presented by Spenser to Queen Elizabeth on his visit to England in that year. Among his lost works, however, besides the prose treatise entitled '*The English Poet*' already noticed, mention is made of a translation of a Greek dialogue, entitled '*Axiochus*,' on the shortness and uncertainty of life, the composition of *Æschines Socraticus*, but designated Plato's in this translation, which is said to have been printed in Scotland in 1592, although no copy is now known to exist. Of others of his compositions, both in prose and verse, probably the very titles have perished.

As the author of the *Fairy Queen* Spenser takes his place in the front rank of the poets of his language, with only Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton by his side. The high qualities of his poetry are affluence of invention, picturesque splendour, and sweetness of flow. No other English poetry has so much of the qualities of painting and of music. But the *Fairy Queen* is far from being all grace, brilliance, and melody: it is throughout as much the inspiration of philosophy as of fancy, and is full of wise and noble thoughts as well as of all other beautiful things.

Spenser is described by Aubrey on the information of Mr. Beeston as having been a little man, with every thing about his person on an economical scale—wearing short hair, little bands, and little cuffs. Perhaps he was

not of quite so amiable or unworldly a character as might be inferred from his poetry. His face, in the most authentic representation of it—in which, however, by the bye, the ruff, contrary to Mr. Beeston's account, is of sufficiently ample dimensions—has by no means a wrapt look. And even the naked outline of his history that has come down to us does not indicate a person inattentive to his own interests. Some evidence that has been produced by Mr. Hardiman goes to show that in the exercise of his rights of property in Ireland he was disposed to go to the very limits, if not beyond the limits, of the law; and there is reason indeed for suspecting that he had provoked the popular vengeance which at last fell upon him by some harshness in his dealings both with the peasantry and with some of the neighbouring proprietors. It is said that his name is still in bad odour in that part of the country. That he may have given some cause for the hatred of the natives and of the Roman Catholic party will surprise no one who has read his *View of the State of Ireland*, the tone of which throughout is singularly firm and uncompromising in its inculcation of both an Anti-Romish and Anti-Hibernian policy. But indeed there is much of the same stern spirit even in his poetry, wherever the subject is such as to call it forth.

Spenser had descendants at least to the fourth generation through his eldest son Sylvanus, who married Ellen, daughter of David Nagle, Esq., of Moneamey in the county of Cork. The grandson of Sylvanus, who died in 1734, left three sons, the eldest of whom, Edmund, is known to have been married; besides a daughter. The poet's second son appears to have been named Lawrence, and to have died in 1654 without issue. His third and youngest son Peregrine left a son Hugolin, who was restored after the Restoration to some lands in the county of Cork, but was outlawed after the Revolution for having taken part with James II. It is said that some of Spenser's descendants were still remaining in the county of Cork about the middle of last century;

and it has been asserted that they are not yet extinct. There are undoubted descendants of a sister of the poet, who married a gentleman of the name of Travers, still existing in that county. It appears that after the poet's death his widow married one Roger Seckerstone, and quarrelled with her children by her first husband.

THE END OF VOL. IV.

THE
CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY
OF
BRITISH WORTHIES.

VOLUME V.

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CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.



ELIZABETH, Queen of England, was the daughter of Henry VIII. by his second wife, Anne Boleyn, and was born at Greenwich on the 7th of September, 1533. She was not three years old therefore when her mother was brought to the block, in May, 1536. Very soon after her birth it was declared, by the Act 25 Henry VIII., c. 22, that if Queen Anne should decease without issue male, to be begotten of the body of the king, and if the king himself should die without other issue male, then the crown should go "to the Lady Elizabeth, now prin-

cess, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten." By the 28 Henry VIII., c. 7, however, passed after his marriage with Jane Seymour, his two former marriages were declared to be unlawful and void, and both Elizabeth and her elder sister Mary were bastardized. But finally, by the 35 Henry VIII., c. 1, passed soon after his marriage with his last wife, Catharine Parr, it was declared that if Prince Edward should die without heirs, then the crown should remain first to the Lady Mary, and, failing her, to the Lady Elizabeth. This was the last legal settlement of the crown, by which her position was affected, made previous to Elizabeth's accession; unless indeed she might be considered 'to be excluded by implication by the Act 1 Mary, st. 2, c. 1, which legitimized her sister Mary, declared the validity of Henry's first marriage, and pronounced his divorce from Catherine of Aragon to be void.

In 1535 a negotiation was entered into for the marriage of Elizabeth to the Duke of Angoulême, the third son of Francis I. of France; but it was broken off before any agreement was come to. In 1546 also Henry proposed to the Emperor Charles V., with a view of breaking off a match then contemplated between the emperor's son, the prince of Spain, afterwards Philip II., with a daughter of the French king, that Philip should marry the Princess Elizabeth; but neither alliance took place. Elizabeth's next suitor, though he does not seem to have formally declared his pretensions, was the protector Somerset's unfortunate brother, the Lord Seymour of Sudley. He is said to have made some advances to her even before his marriage with Queen Catharine Parr, although Elizabeth was then only in her fourteenth year. Catharine, who died a few months after her marriage (poisoned, as many supposed, by her husband), appears to have been made somewhat uncomfortable while she lived by the freedoms the princess continued to allow Sudley to take with her, which went beyond ordinary flirtation; the scandal of the day indeed was, that "the Lady Elizabeth did bear some affection to the admiral." After his wife's death he was accused of having renewed

his designs upon her hand ; and it was part of the charge on which he was attainted that he had plotted to seize the king's person and to force the princess to marry him ; but his execution in the course of a few months stopped this and all his other ambitious schemes.

In 1550, in the reign of Edward VI., it was proposed that Elizabeth should be married to the eldest son of Christian III. of Denmark ; but the negotiation seems to have been stopped by her refusal to consent to the match. She was a favourite with her brother, who used to call her his "sweet sister Temperance ;" but he was nevertheless prevailed upon by the artful and interested representations of Dudley to pass over her, as well as Mary, in the settlement of the crown which he made by will a short time before his death. This transaction has been related in the life of Lady Jane Grey.

Camden gives the following account of the situation and employments of Elizabeth at this period of her life, in the introduction to his history of her reign. She was both, he says, "in great grace and favour with King Edward, her brother, as likewise in singular esteem with the nobility and people ; for she was of admirable beauty, and well deserving a crown, of a modest gravity, excellent wit, royal soul, happy memory, and indefatigably given to the study of learning ; insomuch, as before she was seventeen years of age she understood well the Latin, French, and Italian tongues, and had an indifferent knowledge of the Greek. Neither did she neglect music, so far as it became a princess, being able to sing sweetly, and play handsomely on the lute. With Roger Ascham, who was her tutor, she read over Melanchthon's *Common-Places*, all Tully, a great part of the histories of Titus Livius, certain select orations of Isocrates (whereof two she turned into Latin), Sophocles's Tragedies, and the New Testament in Greek, by which means she both framed her tongue to a pure and elegant way of speaking, and informed her mind with apt documents and instructions ; duly applying herself to the study of good letters, not for pomp and ostentation, but in order to use in her life and the practice of virtue ; insomuch as she was a

kind of miracle and admiration for her learning among the princes of her time.*

It appears from what Ascham himself tells us in his "Schoolmaster," that Elizabeth continued her Greek studies after she ascended the throne: "after dinner" (at Windsor Castle, 10th December, 1563) he says, "I went up to read with the Queen's Majesty: we read there together in the Greek tongue, as I well remember, that noble oration of Demosthenes against Æschines for his false dealing in his embassy to King Philip of Macedonia."

On the death of Edward, Camden says that an attempt was made by Dudley to induce Elizabeth to resign her title to the crown for a sum of money, and certain lands to be settled on her: her reply was, "that her elder sister, the Lady Mary, was first to be agreed withal; for as long as the said Lady Mary lived she, for her part, could challenge no right at all." Burnet says that both she and Mary, having been allured by messages from Dudley, who no doubt wished to get them into his hands, were on their way to town, when the news of Edward's approaching end induced them to turn back. When Mary came to London after being proclaimed queen, the Lady Elizabeth went to meet her with 500 horse, according to Camden, others say with 2000. Fox, the martyrologist, relates that "Queen Mary, when she was first queen, before she was crowned, would go no whither but would have her by the hand, and send for her to dinner and supper. At Mary's coronation, in October, 1553, according to Holinshed, as the queen rode through the city towards Westminster, the chariot in which she sat was followed by another "having a covering of cloth of silver, all white, and six horses trapped with the like, wherein sate the Lady Elizabeth and the Lady Anne of Cleve." Another account says that Elizabeth carried the crown on this occasion.

From this time Elizabeth, who had been brought up in their religion, became the hope of the Protestant party. Her position however was one of great difficulty. At first she refused to attend her sister to mass, endeavouring

* English Translation in Keunet's Collection.

to soothe Mary by appealing to her compassion: after some time however she yielded an outward compliance. The act passed by the parliament, which, although it did not mention her by name, bastardized her by implication by annulling her father's divorce from his first wife, could not fail to give her deep offence. Availing herself of an order of Mary, assigning her a rank below what her birth entitled her to, as an excuse for wishing to retire from court, she obtained leave to go to her house at Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire, in the beginning of December. About the same time Mary is supposed to have been irritated against her sister by the preference shown for Elizabeth by her kinsman Edward Courtenay, whom, after releasing from the Tower, the queen had restored to his father's title of Earl of Devon, and is said to have had some thoughts of marrying. It appears to have been part of the design of the rash and unfortunate attempt of Wyatt, in the beginning of the following year, to bring about a marriage between Elizabeth and Courtenay, who was one of those engaged in the revolt. This affair involved Elizabeth in the greatest danger. On the 8th of February, the day after the suppression of the insurrection, certain members of the council were sent with a party of 250 (other accounts say 600) horse to Ashridge, with orders to bring her to London "quick or dead." They arrived during the night, and although they found her sick in bed, they immediately forced their way into her chamber, and informed her that she must "prepare against the morning, at nine of the clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's litter for her." She was so ill however, that it was not till the fourth night that she reached Highgate. Here, says Fox, "she being very sick, tarried that night and the next day; during which time of her abode there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court, but for what purpose I cannot tell." When she entered London great multitudes of people came flocking about her litter, which she ordered to be opened to show herself. The city was at this time covered with gibbets; fifteen had been erected in different places, on which

fifty-two persons were hanged ; and it appears to have been the general belief that Elizabeth would suffer, as Lady Jane Grey had done a few days before. From the time of her arrival in town she was kept in close confinement in Whitehall. It appears that her case was twice debated in council ; and, although no evidence had been obtained by all the exertions of the crown lawyers which went farther than to make it probable that Wyatt and Courtenay had solicited her to give her assent to their projects of revolt, her immediate destruction was strongly advised by some of the members. Elizabeth long afterwards used to declare that she fully expected death, and that she knew her sister thirsted for her blood. It was at last determined however that for the present she should only be committed to the Tower, although she seems herself still to have been left in doubt as to her fate. She was conveyed to her prison by water on the morning of the 11th of March, being Palm Sunday, orders being issued that, in the mean time, "every one should keep the church and carry their palms." In attempting to shoot the bridge the boat was nearly swamped. She at first refused to land at the stairs leading to the Traitors' Gate ; but one of the lords with her told her she should have no choice ; "and because it did then rain," continues Fox, "he offered to her his cloak, which she (putting it back with her hand with a good dash) refused. So she coming out, having one foot upon the stair, said, 'Here landeth as true a subject as ever landed at these stairs ; and before thee, O God, I speak it, having none other friends but thee alone.'" She remained in close custody for about a month, after which she was allowed to walk in a small garden within the walls of the fortress. On the 19th of May she was removed, in charge of Sir Henry Bedingfield, to Woodstock. Here she was guarded with great strictness and severity by her new jailor. Camden says that at this time she received private letters both from Henry II. of France, inviting her to that country, and from Christian III. of Denmark (who had lately embraced the Protestant religion), soliciting her hand for his son Frederick. When these

things came to the ears of her enemies, her life was again threatened. "The Lady Elizabeth," adds the historian, "now guiding herself as a ship in blustering weather, both heard divine service after the Romish manner, and was frequently confessed; and at the pressing instances and menaces of Cardinal Pole, professed herself, for fear of death, a Roman Catholic. Yet did not Queen Mary believe her." She remained at Woodstock till April, 1555, when she was, on the interposition, as it was made to appear, of King Philip, allowed to take up her residence at the royal palace of Hatfield, under the superintendence of a Catholic gentleman, Sir Thomas Pope, by whom she was treated with respect and kindness. Philip was anxious to have the credit of advising mild measures in regard to the princess, and perhaps he was really more disposed to treat her with indulgence than his wife. According to Camden, some of the Roman Catholic party wished to remove her to a distance from England, and to marry her to Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy; but Philip opposed this scheme, designing her for his eldest son Charles (the unfortunate Don Carlos). Elizabeth also was herself averse to a marriage with the Savoyard.

She continued to reside at Hatfield till the death of Mary, which took place on the 17th of November, 1558. The news was communicated the same day, but not till after the lapse of some hours, to the House of Lords, which was sitting at the time. "They were seized at first," says Camden (or rather his translator), "with a mighty grief and surprise, but soon wore off those impressions, and, with an handsome mixture of joy and sorrow, upon the loss of a deceased and the prospect of a succeeding princess, they betook themselves to public business, and, with one consent, agreed that the Lady Elizabeth should be declared the true and lawful heir of the kingdom according to the act of succession made 35 Henry VIII." It is probable that Elizabeth's outward compliance in the matter of religion had considerable effect in producing this unanimity, for the majority of the lords were Catholics, and certainly both the bishops and many of the lay peers would have been strongly inclined

to oppose her accession if they had expected that she would venture to disturb the established order of things. The members of the lower house were now called up, and informed of what had been done by Archbishop Heath, the chancellor. He concluded by saying that, since no doubt could or ought to be made of the Lady Elizabeth's right of succession, the House of Peers only wanted their consent to proclaim her queen. A vote to that effect immediately passed by acclamation; and, as soon as the houses rose, the proclamation took place. Elizabeth came to London on Wednesday, the 23rd: she was met by all the bishops in a body at Highgate, and escorted by an immense multitude of people of all ranks to the metropolis, where she took up her lodgings at the residence of Lord North, in the Charter House. On the afternoon of Monday the 28th she made a progress through the city in a chariot to the royal palace of the Tower: here she continued till Monday the 5th of December, on the morning of which day she removed by water to Somerset House.

One of Elizabeth's earliest acts of royalty, by which, as Camden remarks, she gave proof of a prudence above her years, was what we should now call the appointment of her ministers. She retained of her privy council thirteen Catholics, who had been of that of her sister, including Heath, Archbishop of York, the lord chancellor; William Paulett, Marquis of Winchester, the lord high treasurer; Edward, Lord Clinton, the lord high admiral; and William, Lord Howard of Effingham, the lord chamberlain. But with these she associated seven others of her own religion, the most eminent of whom was the celebrated William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, whom she appointed to the office of secretary of state, which he had already held under Edward VI. The beginning of Burghley's connexion with Elizabeth has been related in our memoir of that statesman. Soon after, Nicholas Bacon (the father of the great chancellor) was added to the number of the privy councillors, and made at first lord privy seal, and next year lord keeper of the great seal, on the resignation of Archbishop Heath.

Cecil became lord high treasurer on the death of the Marquis of Winchester in 1572, and continued to be Elizabeth's principal adviser till his death in 1598, when he was succeeded by Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (afterwards made Earl of Dorset by James I.). Of the other persons who served as ministers during Elizabeth's long reign, the most worthy of note were Sir Francis Walsingham (who was principal secretary of state from 1573 till his death in 1590, and was all the time they were in office together the confidential friend and chief assistant of Cecil the premier, under whose patronage he had entered public life), and Burghley's son, Robert Cecil (afterwards Earl of Salisbury), who succeeded Walsingham as secretary of state, and held that office till the end of the reign. Among the other persons of ability that were employed in the course of the reign, in different capacities, may be mentioned Sir Nicholas Throckmorton; "a man," says Camden, "of a large experience, piercing judgment, and singular prudence, who discharged several embassies with a great deal of diligence and much to his praise, yet could he not be master of much wealth, nor rise higher than to those small dignities (though glorious in title) of chief cupbearer of England and chamberlain of the Exchequer; and this because he acted in favour of Leicester against Cecil, whose greatness he envied; Sir Thomas Smith, the learned friend of Cheke, who had been one of the secretaries of state along with him under Edward VI., and held the same office again under Elizabeth for some years before his death in 1577; and Sir Christopher Hatton, who was lord chancellor from 1587 till his death in 1591, and whom Camden, after having related his singular rise from being one of the band of gentlemen pensioners, to which he was appointed by the queen, who was taken with his handsome shape and elegant dancing at a court masque, characterizes as "a great patron of learning and good sense, and one that made that weighty part of lord chancellor with that equal grand clearness of principle as to be able to satisfy his country and the world too."

The affair to which Elizabeth first applied her atten-

tion on coming to the throne, and that in connexion with which all the transactions of her reign must be viewed, was the settlement of the national religion. The opinions of Cecil strongly concurred with her own in favour of the reformed doctrines, to which also undoubtedly the great mass of the people was attached. For a short time however she kept her intentions a secret from the majority of the council, taking her measures in concert only with Cecil and the few others who might be said to form the cabinet. She began by giving permission, by proclamation, to read part of the church service in English, but at the same time strictly prohibited the addition of any comments, and all preaching on controversial points. This however was enough to show the Catholic party what was coming; accordingly, at her coronation, on the 15th of January, 1559, the bishops in general refused to assist, and it was with difficulty that one of them, Oglethorp of Carlisle, was prevailed upon to set the crown on her head. The principal alterations were reserved to be made by the parliament, which met on the 25th of this month. Of the acts which were passed, [one restored to the crown the jurisdiction established in the reign of Henry VIII. over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolished all foreign powers repugnant to the same; and another restored the use of King Edward's Book of Common Prayer, with certain alterations, that had been suggested by a royal commission over which Parker (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) presided. In accordance with this last statute public worship began to be performed in English throughout the kingdom on Whit-Sunday, which fell on the 8th. of May. By a third act the first-fruits and tenths of benefices were restored to the crown; and by a fourth, her majesty was authorized, upon the avoidance of any archbishopric or bishopric, to take certain of the revenues into her own hands; and conrelatees of the temporalities by the holder for a lenger tēlichdan twenty-one years or three lives were made voided the effect of these laws was generally to restore the t'lorch to the state in which it was in the reign of Edwat se/I., the royal supremacy sufficing for such fur-

ther necessary alterations as were not expressly provided for by statute. A strong opposition was made to the bills in the House of Lords by the bishops; and fourteen of them, being the whole number, with the exception of Anthony, Bishop of Llandaff, who, Camden says, "was the scourge of his diocese," were now deprived for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. About a hundred prebendaries, deans, archdeacons, and heads of colleges, were also ejected. The number of the inferior clergy however that held out was very small, amounting to no more than eighty rectors and other parochial ministers, out of between nine and ten thousand. On this subject it is only necessary further to state that the frame of ecclesiastical polity now set up, being in all essential particulars the same that still subsists, was zealously and steadily maintained by Elizabeth and her ministers to the end of her reign. The Church of England has good reason to look upon her and Cecil as the true planters and rearers of its authority. They had soon to defend it against the Puritans on the one hand, as well as against the Catholics on the other; and they yielded to the former as little as the latter. The Puritans had been growing in the country ever since the dawn of the Reformation; but they first made their appearance in any considerable force in the parliament which met in 1570. At first their attempts were met on the part of the crown by evasive measures and slight checks; but, in 1587, on four members of the House of Commons presenting to the house a bill for establishing a new Directory of public worship, Elizabeth at once gave orders that they should be seized and sent to the Tower, where they were kept some time. The High Commission Court also, which was established by a clause in one of the acts for the settlement of religion passed in the first year of her reign, was, occasionally at least, prompted or permitted to exercise its authority in the punishment of what was called heresy, and in enforcing uniformity of worship with great strictness. The determination upon which the queen acted in these matters, as she expressed it in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, was, "that no man should

be suffered to decline either to the left or to the right hand, from the drawn line limited by authority, and by her laws and injunctions." Besides the deprivation of their livings, which many of the clergy underwent for their refusal to comply with certain particulars of the established ritual, many other persons suffered imprisonment for violations of the statute of uniformity. It was against the Catholics however that the most severe measures were taken. By an act passed in 1585 (the 27 Eliz. c. 2) every Jesuit or other popish priest was commanded to depart from the realm within forty days, on pain of death as a traitor, and every person receiving or relieving any such priest was declared guilty of felony. Many priests were afterwards executed under this act.

It was the struggle with popery that moved and directed nearly the whole policy of the reign, foreign as well as domestic. When Elizabeth came to the throne, she found the country at peace with Spain, the head of which kingdom had been her predecessor's husband, but at war with France, the great continental opponent of Spain and the Empire. Philip, with the view of preserving his English alliance, almost immediately after her accession offered himself to Elizabeth in marriage; but, after deliberating on the proposal, she determined upon declining it, swayed by various considerations, and especially, as it would appear, by the feeling that, by consenting to marry her sister's husband on a dispensation from the pope, she would in a manner be affirming the lawfulness of her father's marriage with Catherine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur, and condemning his subsequent marriage with her own mother, the sole validity of which rested on the alleged illegality of that previous connexion. A general peace, however, comprehending all the three powers, and also Scotland, was established in April, 1559, by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis. By this treaty it was agreed that Calais, which had been taken by France in the time of Queen Mary, and had formed the only difficult subject of negotiation, should be restored to England in eight years, if no hostile act should be committed by Elizabeth within that period. Scarcely

however had this compact been signed when the war was suddenly rekindled, in consequence of the assumption by the new French king, Francis II., of the arms and royal titles of England, in right, as was pretended, of his wife, the young Mary, queen of Scots. Elizabeth instantly resented this act of hostility by sending a body of 5000 troops to Scotland, to act there with the Duke of Chatelherault and the lords of the congregation, as the leaders of the Protestant party called themselves, against the government of the queen and her mother the Regent, Mary of Guise. The town of Leith soon yielded to this force ; and the French king was speedily compelled both to renounce his wife's pretensions to the English throne and to withdraw his own troops from Scotland, by the treaty of Edinburgh, executed 7th July, 1560. The treaty however never was ratified either by Francis or his queen ; and in consequence the relations between the three countries continued in an unsatisfactory state. Charles IX. succeeded his brother on the throne of France before the end of this year ; and in a few months afterwards Mary of Scotland returned to her own country. Meanwhile, although the two countries continued at peace, Elizabeth's proceedings in regard to the church had wholly alienated Philip of Spain. The whole course of events and the position which she occupied had already in fact caused the English queen to be looked upon as the head of the Protestant interest throughout Europe as much as she was at home. When the dispute therefore between the Catholics and the Huguenots or reformed party in France came to a contest of arms, in 1562, the latter immediately applied for assistance to Elizabeth, who concluded a treaty with them, and sent them succour both in men and money. The war that followed produced no events of importance in so far as England was concerned, and was terminated by a treaty signed at Troyes, 11th April, 1564. A long period followed, during which England preserved in appearance the ordinary relations of peace both with France and Spain, though interferences repeatedly took place on each side that all but amounted to actual hostilities. The Protest-

ants alike in Scotland, in France, and in the Netherlands (then subject to the dominion of Philip), regarded Elizabeth as firmly bound to their cause by her own interests; and she on her part kept a watchful eye on the religious and political contentions of all these countries, with a view to the maintenance and support of the Protestant party, by every species of countenance and aid short of actually making war in their behalf. With the Protestant government in Scotland, which had deposed and imprisoned the queen, she was in open and intimate alliance; in favour of the French Huguenots she at one time negotiated or threatened, at another even went the length, scarcely with any concealment, of affording them pecuniary assistance; and when the people of the Netherlands at length rose in revolt against the oppressive government of Philip, although she refused the sovereignty of their country, which they offered to her, she lent them money, and in various other ways openly expressed her sympathy and good will. On the other hand, Philip—although he refrained from any declaration of war, and the usual intercourse, both commercial and political, long went on between the two countries without interruption—was incessant in his endeavours to undermine the throne of the English queen and the order of things at the head of which she stood, by instigating plots and commotions against her authority within her own dominions. He attempted to turn to account in this way the Catholic interest, which was still so powerful both in England and Ireland—the intrigues of the Scottish queen and her partisans materially contributing to the same end. Mary was not merely the head of the Catholic party in Scotland, but, as the descendant of the eldest daughter of Henry VII., had pretensions to the English crown which were of a very formidable kind. Although she was kept in confinement by the English government after her flight from the hands of her own subjects in 1568, the imprisonment of her person did not extinguish the hopes or put an end to the efforts of her adherents. Repeated rebellions in Ireland, in some instances openly aided by supplies from Spain—the attempt made by the Duke of

Alva in 1569, through the agency of Vitelli, to concert with the Catholic party the scheme of an invasion of England—the rising of the Catholics of the northern counties under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland the same year—the plot of the Duke of Norfolk with Ridolfi in 1571, for which that unfortunate nobleman lost his head—the plots of Throgmorton and Creighton in 1584, and of Babington in 1586—to omit several minor attempts of the same kind—all testified the restless zeal with which the various enemies of the established order of things pursued their common end. Meanwhile, however, events were tending to a crisis which was to put an end to the outward show of friendship that had been so long kept up between parties that were not only fiercely hostile in their hearts, but had even been constantly working for each other's overthrow behind the thin screen of their professions and courtesies. The Queen of Scots was put to death in 1587, by an act of which it is easier to defend the state policy than either the justice or the legality. By this time also, although no actual declaration of war had yet proceeded either from England or Spain, the cause of the people of the Netherlands had been openly espoused by Elizabeth, whose general, the Earl of Leicester, was now at the head of the troops of the United Provinces, as the revolted states called themselves. An English fleet at the same time attacked and ravaged the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. At last, in the summer of 1588, the great Spanish fleet, arrogantly styled the Invincible Armada, sailed for the invasion of England, and was in the greater part dashed to pieces on the coasts which it came to assail. From this time hostilities proceeded with more or less activity between the two countries during the remainder of the reign of Elizabeth. Meanwhile Henry III., and, after his assassination in 1589, the young King of Navarre, assuming the title of Henry IV., at the head of the Huguenots, had been maintaining a desperate contest in France with the Duke of Guise and the League. For some years Elizabeth and Philip remained only spectators of the struggle; but at length

they were both drawn to take a principal part in it. The French war, however, so far as Elizabeth was concerned, must be considered as only another appendage to the war with Spain ; it was Philip chiefly, and not the League, that she opposed in France ; just as in the Netherlands, and formerly in Scotland, it was not the cause of liberty against despotism, or of revolted subjects against their legitimate sovereign, that she supported, or even the cause of Protestantism against Catholicism, but her own cause against Philip, her own right to the English throne against his, or that of the competitor with whom he took part. Since the death of Mary of Scotland, Philip professed to consider himself as the rightful king of England, partly on the ground of his descent from John of Gaunt, partly in consequence of Mary having by her will bequeathed her pretensions to him should her son persist in remaining a heretic. Henry IV., having previously embraced Catholicism, made peace with Philip by the treaty of Vervins, concluded in May, 1598 ; and the death of Philip followed in September of the same year. But the war between England and Spain was nevertheless still kept up. In 1601 Philip III. sent a force to Ireland, which landed in that country and took the town of Kinsale ; and the following year Elizabeth retaliated by fitting out a naval expedition against her adversary, which captured some rich prizes, and otherwise annoyed the Spaniard. Her forces also continued to act in conjunction with those of the Seven United Provinces both by sea and land.

Elizabeth died on the 24th of March, 1603, in the 70th year of her age and the 45th of her reign. In the very general account to which we have necessarily confined ourselves of the course of public transactions during the long period of the English annals with which her name is associated, we have omitted all reference to many subordinate particulars, which yet strongly illustrate both her personal conduct and character and the history of her government. One of the first requests addressed to her by the parliament after she came to the throne was that she would marry ; but for reasons which were pro-

bably various, though with regard to their precise nature we are rather left to speculation and conjecture than possessed of any satisfactory information, she persisted in remaining single to the end of her days. Yet she coqueted with many suitors almost to the last. In the beginning of her reign, among those who aspired to her hand, after she had rejected the offer of Philip of Spain, were Charles, Archduke of Austria (a younger son of the Emperor Ferdinand I.); James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, the head of the Protestant party in Scotland; Erick XIV., King of Sweden (whom she had refused in the reign of her sister Mary); and Adolphus, Duke of Holstein (uncle to Ferdinand II. of Denmark). "Nor were there wanting at home," adds Camden, "some persons who fed themselves (as lovers used to do) with golden dreams of marrying their sovereign;" and he mentions particularly Sir William Pickering, "a gentleman well born, of a narrow estate, but much esteemed for his learning, his handsome way of living, and the management of some embassies into France and Germany;" Henry, Earl of Arundel; and Robert Dudley (afterwards the famous Earl of Leicester), a younger son of the Duke of Northumberland, "restored by Queen Mary to his honour and estate; a person of youth and vigour, and of a fine shape and proportion, whose father and grandfather were not so much hated by the people, but he was as high in the favour of Queen Elizabeth, who out of her royal and princely clemency heaped honours upon him, and saved *his* life whose father would have destroyed *hers*." Leicester continued the royal favourite till his death in 1588; certainly, whatever may be thought of the worst imputations that have been thrown upon him, showing himself little deserving of the honours and grants that were lavished upon him by his partial sovereign, who, having appointed him commander-in-chief of the forces which she sent to the assistance of the Dutch, insisted upon maintaining him in that situation, notwithstanding the mischiefs produced by his incapacity and misconduct, and, at the perilous crisis of the Spanish invasion, was on the point of constituting him lieutenant-

governor of England and Ireland. Camden says that the letters patent were already drawn, when Burghley and Hatton interfered, and put a stop to the matter. Of the foreign princes that have been mentioned, the Archduke Charles persisted longest in his suit: a serious negotiation took place on the subject of the match in 1567, but it came to nothing. In 1571 proposals were made by Catherine de Medicis for a marriage between Elizabeth and her son Charles IX., and afterwards in succession with her two younger sons, Henry, Duke of Anjou (afterwards Henry III.), and Francis, Duke of Alençon (afterwards Duke of Anjou). The last match was again strongly pressed some years after; and in 1581 the arrangement for it had been all but brought to a conclusion, when, at the last moment, Elizabeth drew back, declining to sign the marriage articles after she had taken up the pen for the purpose. Very soon after the death of Leicester the young Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, whose mother Leicester had married, was taken into the same favour that had been so long enjoyed by the deceased nobleman; and his tenure of the royal partiality lasted, with some intermissions, till he destroyed himself by his own hot-headedness and violence. He was executed for a frantic attempt to excite an insurrection against the government in 1601. Elizabeth, however, never recovered from this shock; and she may be said to have sealed her own sentence of death in signing the death-warrant of Essex.

Both the personal character of Elizabeth and the character of her government have been estimated very differently by writers of opposite parties. That she had great qualities will hardly be disputed by any one who duly reflects on the difficulties of the position she occupied, the consummate policy and success with which she directed her course through the dangers that beset her on all sides, the courage and strength of heart that never failed her, the imposing attitude she maintained in the eyes of foreign nations, and the admiration and pride of which she was the object at home. She was undeniably endowed with great good sense, and with a true feeling

of what became her place. The weaknesses, and also the more forbidding features of her character, on the other hand, are so obvious as scarcely to require to be specified. Many of the least respectable mental peculiarities of her own sex were mixed in her with some of the least attractive among those of the other. Her selfishness and her vanity were both intense—and of the sympathetic affections and finer sensibilities of every kind she was nearly destitute.

Her literary knowledge was certainly very considerable; but of her compositions (a few of which are in verse) none are of much value. nor evidence any very superior ability, with the exception perhaps of some of her speeches to the parliament. A list of the pieces attributed to her may be found in Walpole's 'Royal and Noble Authors.'

There has been a good deal of controversy as to the proportion in which the elements of liberty and despotism were combined in the English constitution, or in the practice of the government, in the reign of Elizabeth; the object of one party being to convict the Stuarts of deviating into a new course in those exertions of the prerogative and that resistance to the popular demands which led to the civil wars of the seventeenth century,—of the other, to vindicate them from that charge, by showing that the previous government of Elizabeth had been as arbitrary as theirs. Upon this question the reader may consult the elaborate exposition with which Hume closes his account of this reign, along with the remarks upon it in the Introduction to Mr. Brodie's 'History of the British Empire, from the Accession of Charles I. to the Restoration.' There can be no doubt that the first James and the first Charles pursued their object with much less art, and much less knowledge and skill in managing the national character, as well as in less advantageous circumstances, than Elizabeth and her ministers; they did not know nearly so well when to resist and when to yield as she did; but it may notwithstanding be reasonably questioned if her notion of the rightful supremacy of the crown was very different

from theirs. However constitutional also (in the modern sense of the term) may have been the general course of her government, her occasional practice was certainly despotic enough. She never threw aside the sword of the prerogative, although she may have usually kept it in its scabbard.

Her reign, however, take it all in all, was a happy as well as a glorious one for England. The kingdom, under her government, acquired and maintained a higher and more influential place among the states of Europe, principally by policy, than it had ever been raised to by the most successful military exertions of former ages. Commerce flourished and made great advances, and wealth was much more extensively and more rapidly diffused among the body of the people than at any former period. It is the feeling of progress, rather than any degree of actual attainment, that keeps a nation in spirits; and this feeling every thing conspired to keep alive in the hearts of the English in the age of Elizabeth; even the remembrance of the stormy times of their fathers, from which they had escaped, lending its aid to heighten the enjoyment of the present calm. To these happy circumstances of the national condition was owing, above all, and destined to survive all their other products, the rich native literature, more especially in poetry and the drama, which now rushed up, as if from the tillage of a virgin soil, covering the land with its perennial fruit and flowers. Spenser and Shakspeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Raleigh and Bacon, and many other distinguished names gained their earliest celebrity in the Elizabethan age.



ON the 22nd of August, 1485, there was a battle fought for the crown of England, a short battle ending in a decisive victory. The battle-field was Bosworth. Was there in that victorious army of the Earl of Richmond an Englishman bearing the name of Chacksper, or Shakespoyre, or Schakspere, or Schakespeire, or Schakspere, or Shakespere, or Shakespere,*—a martial name, however spelt? Of the warlike achievements of this Shakespere there is no record: his name or his deeds would have no interest for us unless there had been born, eighty years after this battle-day, a direct descendant from him—

* A list of the brethren and sisters of the Guild of Knowle, near Rowington, in Warwickshire, exhibits a great number of the name of Shakspeare in that fraternity, from about 1460 to 1527; and the names are spelt with the diversity here given, *Shakspere* being the latest.

“ Whose muse, full of high thought’s invention,
Doth like himself *heroically sound* ;” *—

a Shakspeare of whom it was also said—

“ He seems to *shake a lance*
As brandish’d at the eyes of ignorance.” †

A public document bearing the date of 1596 affirms of John Shakspeare of Stratford-upon-Avon, the father of William Shakspeare, that his “ parent and late antecessors were, for their *valiant* and faithful services, advanced and rewarded of the most prudent prince King Henry VII. of famous memory ;” and it adds, “ sithence which time they have continued at those parts [Warwickshire] in good reputation and credit.” Another document of a similar character, bearing the date of 1599, also affirms upon “ creditable report,” of “ John Shakspeare, now of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick, gentleman,” that his “ parent and great-grandfather, late antecessor, for his faithful and approved service to the late most prudent prince King Henry VII. of famous memory, was advanced and rewarded with lands and tenements, given to him in those parts of Warwickshire, where they have continued by some descents in good reputation and credit.” Such are the recitals of two several grants of arms to John Shakspeare, confirming a previous grant made to him in 1569.

The great-grandson of the faithful and approved servant of Henry VII., John Shakspeare, was a burgess of the corporation of Stratford, and was in all probability born about 1530. The family had continued in those parts, “ by some descents ;” but how they were occupied in the business of life, what was their station in society, how they branched out into other lines of Shaksperes, we have no record.

In 1599 John Shakspeare a second time went to the College of Arms, and producing his own “ ancient coat of arms,” said that he had “ married the daughter and one of the heirs of Robert Arden, of Wellingcote :” and

* Spenser.

† Ben Jonson,

then the heralds say—"We have likewise upon one other escutcheon impaled the same with the ancient arms of the said Arden of Wellingcote." They add that John Shakspeare, and his children, issue, and posterity, may bear and use the same shield of arms, single or impaled.

The family of Arden was one of the highest antiquity in Warwickshire. Dugdale traces its pedigree uninterruptedly up to the time of Edward the Confessor. The pedigree which Dugdale gives of the Arden family brings us no nearer in the direct line to the mother of Shakspeare than to Robert Arden, her great-grandfather: he was the third son of Walter Arden, who married Eleanor the daughter of John Hampden, of Buckinghamshire; and he was brother of Sir John Arden, squire for the body to Henry VII. Robert's son, also called Robert, was groom of the chamber to Henry VII. He married, and he had a son, also Robert, who married Agnes Webbe. Their youngest daughter was Mary, the mother of William Shakspeare.

High as was her descent, wealthy and powerful as were the numerous branches of her family, Mary Arden, we doubt not, led a life of usefulness as well as innocence, within her native forest hamlet. She had three sisters, and they all, with their mother Agnes, survived their father, who died in December, 1556. His will is dated the 24th of November in the same year, and the testator styles himself "Robert Arden, of Wylmcote, in the paryche of Aston Cauntlow." Mary, his youngest daughter, from superiority of mind, or some other cause of her father's confidence, occupies the most prominent position in the will. She has an undivided estate and a sum of money; and, from the crop being also bequeathed to her, it is evident that she was considered able to continue the tillage. The estate thus bequeathed to her consisted of about sixty acres of arable and pasture, and a house; and was called Asbies.

In the winter of 1556 was Mary Arden left without the guidance of a father, under this somewhat naked roof-tree, now become her own. Her sister Alice was

to occupy another property in Wilmecote with her mother, provided the widow would so consent; and she did consent. And so she lived a somewhat lonely life, till a young yeoman of Stratford, who had probably some acquaintance with her father, came to sit oftener and oftener upon the wooden benches in the old hall—a substantial yeoman, a burgess of the corporation in 1557 or 1558; and then in due season Mary Arden and John Shakspeare were standing before the altar of the parish church of Aston Cantlow, and the house and lands of Asbies became administered by one who took possession “by the right of the said Mary,” who thenceforward abided for half a century in the good town of Stratford.

There have been endless theories, old and new, affirmations, contradictions, as to the worldly calling of John Shakspeare. There are ancient registers in Stratford, minutes of the Common Hall, proceedings of the Court-leet, pleas of the Court of Record, writs which have been hunted over with unwearied diligence, and yet they tell us nothing, or next to nothing, of John Shakspeare. When he was elected an alderman in 1565, we can trace out the occupations of his brother aldermen, and readily come to the conclusion that the municipal authority of Stratford was vested, as we may naturally suppose it to have been, in the hands of substantial tradesmen, brewers, bakers, butchers, grocers, victuallers, mercers, woollen-drapers. Prying into the secrets of time, we are enabled to form some notion of the literary acquirements of this worshipful body. On rare, very rare occasions, the aldermen and burgesses constituting the town-council affixed their signatures, for greater solemnity, to some order of the court; and on the 29th of September, in the seventh of Elizabeth, upon an order that John Wheler should take the office of bailiff, we have nineteen names subscribed, aldermen and burgesses. There is something in this document which suggests a motive higher than mere curiosity for calling up these dignitaries from their happy oblivion, saying to each, “Dost thou use to write thy name? or hast thou a mark to thyself like an honest plain-dealing man?”

Alas! out of the nineteen, seven only can answer, "I thank God I have been so well brought up that I can write my name." It is a matter of controversy whether John Shakspeare was one of the more clerly corporators. In 1556, the year that Robert, the father of Mary Arden, died, John Shakspeare was admitted at the court-leet to two copyhold estates in Stratford. The jurors of the leet present that George Turner had alienated to John Shakspeare and his heirs one tenement, with a garden and croft, and other premises, in Grenehyll-street, held of the lord at an annual quit-rent; and John Shakspeare, who is present in court and does fealty, is admitted to the same. The same jurors present that Edward West has alienated to John Shakspeare one tenement and a garden adjacent in Henley Street, who is in the same way admitted upon fealty done to the lord. Here then is John Shakspeare, before his marriage, the purchaser of two copyholds in Stratford, both with gardens, and one with a croft, or small enclosed field. In 1570 John Shakspeare is holding, as tenant under William Clopton, a meadow of fourteen acres, with its appurtenances, called Ingon, at the annual rent of eight pounds. This rent, equivalent to at least forty pounds of our present money, would indicate that the appurtenance included a house,—and a very good house. This meadow of Ingon forms part of a large property known by that name near Clopton House. When John Shakspeare married, the estate of Asbies, within a short ride of Stratford, came also into his possession. With these facts before us, scanty as they are, can we reasonably doubt that John Shakspeare was living upon his own land, renting the land of others, actively engaged in the business of cultivation, in an age when tillage was becoming rapidly profitable,—so much so that men of wealth very often thought it better to take the profits direct than to share them with the tenant?

And is all this, it may be said, of any importance in looking at the life of William Shakspeare—a man who stands above all other individual men, above all ranks of men; in comparison with whom, in his permanent

influence upon mankind, generations of nobles, fighting men, statesmen, princes, are but as dust? It is something, we think. It offers a better, because a more natural, explanation of the circumstances connected with the early life of the great poet than those stories which would make him of obscure birth and servile employments. Take old Aubrey's story, the shrewd learned gossip and antiquary, who survived Shakspeare some eighty years:—"Mr. William Shakspeare was born at Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick. His father was a butcher, and I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours that when he was a boy he exercised his father's trade; but when he killed a calf he would do it in a high style, and make a speech. There was at that time another butcher's son in this town that was held not at all inferior to him for a natural wit, his acquaintance and coetanean, but died young." The story, however, has a variation. There was at Stratford, in the year 1693, a clerk of the parish church, eighty years old,—that is, he was three years old when William Shakspeare died,—and he, pointing to the monument of the poet, with the pithy remark that he was the "best of his family," proclaimed to a member of one of the Inns of Court that "this Shakspeare was formerly in this town bound apprentice to a butcher, but that he ran from his master to London." His father was a butcher, says Aubrey; he was apprenticed to a butcher, says the parish clerk.

Akin to the butcher's trade is that of the dealer in wool. It is upon the authority of Betterton, the actor, who, in the beginning of the last century, made a journey into Warwickshire to collect anecdotes relating to Shakspeare, that Rowe tells us that John Shakspeare was a dealer in wool:—"His family, as appears by the register and public writings relating to that town, were of good figure and fashion there, and are mentioned as gentlemen. His father, who was a considerable dealer in wool, had so large a family, ten children in all, that, though he was his eldest son, he could give him no better education than his own employment." Tradition

is here, we think, becoming a little more assimilated with the truth. The considerable dealer in wool might very well have been the landed proprietor, the cultivator, that we believe John Shakspeare to have been. Nor indeed was the incidental business even of a butcher, a slayer and seller of carcasses, incompatible with that occupation of a landholder. Harrison (1590), who mingles laments at the increasing luxury of the farmer with somewhat contradictory denouncements of the oppression of the tenant by the landlord, holds that the landlord is monopolising the tenant's profits:—"Most sorrowful of all to understand, that men of great port and countenance are so far from suffering their farmers to have any gain at all, that *they themselves become graziers, BUTCHERS, tanners, SHEEPMASTERS, woodmen, and denique quid non*, thereby to enrich themselves, and bring all the wealth of the country into their own hands, leaving the commonalty weak, or as an idol with broken or feeble arms, which may in time of peace have a plausible show, but, when necessity shall enforce, have an heavy and bitter sequel." Has not Harrison solved the mystery of the butcher, and explained the tradition of the woolman?

There is an entry in the Bailiff's Court of Stratford, in 1555, which shows us one John Shakspeare, a glover. It does not follow that if this record be of the father of William Shakspeare, a young man in 1555, that he was always a glover. If he were a glover in 1555, he was subsequently a holder of land—a land proprietor.

The Register of Baptisms of the parish of Stratford-upon-Avon shows that William, the son of John Shakspeare, was baptized on the 26th April, 1564. And when born? The want of such information is a defect in all parish-registers. Baptism so immediately followed birth in those times, when infancy was surrounded with greater dangers than in our own days of improved medical science, that we may believe that William Shakspeare first saw the light only a day or two previous to this legal record of his existence. There is no direct

evidence that he was born on the 23rd of April, according to the common belief. But there was probably a tradition to that effect; for some years ago the Rev. Joseph Greene, a master of the grammar-school at Stratford, in an extract which he made from the Register of Shakspeare's baptism, wrote in the margin, "Born on the 23rd." We turn back to the first year of the registry, 1558, and we find the baptism of Joan, daughter to John Shakspeare, on the 15th of September. Again, in 1562, on the 2nd of December, Margaret, daughter to John Shakspeare, is baptized. In the entry of burials in 1563 we find, under date of April 30, that Margaret closed a short life in five months. We look forward, and in 1566 find the birth of another son registered:—Gilbert, son of John Shakspeare, was baptized on the 13th of October of that year. In 1569 there is the registry of the baptism of a daughter, Joan, daughter of John Shakspeare, on the 15th of April. Thus, the registry of a second Joan leaves no reasonable doubt that the first died, and that a favourite name was preserved in the family. In 1571 another daughter was born,—Anne, daughter of Master John Shakspeare, baptized on the 28th of September. In 1574 another son was baptized,—Richard, son of Master John Shakspeare, on the 11th of March. The register of sorrow and blighted hope shows that Anne was buried on the 4th of April, 1579. The last entry, which determines the extent of John Shakspeare's family, is that of Edmund, son of Master John Shakspeare, baptized on the 3rd of May, 1580. Here, then, we find that two sisters of William were removed by death, probably before his birth. In two years and a half another son, Gilbert, came to be his playmate; and when he was five years old that most precious gift to a loving boy was granted, a sister, who grew up with him. Then came another sister, who faded untimely. When he was ten years old he had another brother to lead by the hand into the green meadows. When he was grown into youthful strength, a boy of sixteen, his youngest brother was born. William, Gilbert, Joan, Richard, Edmund, constituted the

whole of the family amongst whom John Shakspeare was to share his means of existence. Rowe, we have already seen, mentions the large family of John Shakspeare, "ten children in all." Malone has established very satisfactorily the origin of this error into which Rowe has fallen. In later years there was another John Shakspeare in Stratford. In the books of the corporation the name of John Shakspeare, shoemaker, can be traced in 1586; in the register in 1584 we find him married to Margery Roberts, who dies in 1587; he is without doubt married a second time, for in 1589, 1590, and 1591, Ursula, Humphrey, and Philip are born. It is unquestionable that these are not the children of the father of William Shakspeare, for they are entered in the register as the daughter, or sons, of John Shakspeare, without the style which our John Shakspeare always bore after 1569—" *Magister*." There can be no doubt that the mother of all the children of *Master* John Shakspeare was Mary Arden; for in proceedings in Chancery in 1597 it is set forth that John Shakspeare and his wife Mary, in the 20th Elizabeth, 1577, mortgaged her inheritance of Asbies. Nor can there be a doubt that the children born before 1569, when he is styled John Shakspeare without the honourable addition of *Master*, were also *her* children; for in 1599, when *William* Shakspeare is an opulent man, application is made to the College of Arms, that John Shakspeare, and his issue and posterity, might use a "shield of arms" impaled with the arms of Shakspeare and Arden. This application would in all probability have been at the instance of John Shakspeare's eldest son and heir. The history of the family up to the period of William Shakspeare's manhood is as clear as can reasonably be expected.

The year of William Shakspeare's birth was a fearful year for Stratford. The plague raged with terrific violence in the little town. It was the same epidemic which ravaged Europe in that year; which in the previous year had desolated London, and still continued there. The red cross was probably not on the door of

John Shakspeare's dwelling. "Fortunately for mankind," says Malone, "it did not reach the house where the infant Shakspeare lay; for not one of that name appears on the dead list."

The parish of Stratford, then, was unquestionably the birth-place of William Shakspeare. But in what part of Stratford dwelt his parents in the year 1564? It was ten years after this that his father became the purchaser of two freehold houses in Henley Street—houses which still exist. Nine years before William Shakspeare was born, his father had also purchased two copyhold tenements in Stratford—one in Greenhill Street, one in Henley Street. The copyhold house in Henley Street, purchased in 1555, was unquestionably not one of the freehold houses in the same street purchased in 1574; yet, from Malone's loose way of stating that in 1555 the *lease* of a house in Henley Street was assigned to John Shakspeare, it has been conjectured that he purchased in 1574 the house he had occupied for many years. As he purchased two houses in 1555 in different parts of the town, it is not likely that he occupied both; he might not have occupied either. Before he purchased the two houses in Henley Street, in 1574, he occupied fourteen acres of meadow-land, with appurtenances, at a very high rent; the property is called Ingon meadow in "the Close Rolls." Dugdale calls the place where it was situated "Inge;" saying that it was a member of the manor of Old Stratford, "and signifyeth in our old English a meadow or low ground, the name well agreeing with its situation." It is about a mile and a quarter from the town of Stratford, on the road to Warwick. William Shakspeare, then, might have been born at either of his father's copyhold houses, in Greenhill Street, or in Henley Street; he might have been born at Ingon; or his father might have occupied one of the two freehold houses in Henley Street at the time of the birth of his eldest son. Tradition says that William Shakspeare *was* born in one of these houses; tradition points out the very room in which he was born. Let us not disturb the belief. To look upon that ancient house—perhaps now one

of the oldest in Stratford—pilgrims have come from every region where the name of Shakspeare is known. The property passed into a younger branch of the poet's family; the descendants of that branch grew poorer and poorer; they sold off its orchards and gardens; they divided and subdivided it into smaller tenements; it became partly a butcher's shop, partly a little inn. The external appearance was greatly altered, and its humble front rendered still humbler. The windows in the roof were removed; and the half which had become the inn received a new brick casing. The central portion is that which is now shown as the birth-place of the illustrious man—"the myriad-minded."

There is a passage in one of Shakspeare's Sonnets, the 89th, which has induced a belief that he had the misfortune of a physical defect, which would render him peculiarly the object of maternal solicitude:—

"Say that thou didst forsake me for some fault,
And I will comment upon that offence:
Speak of my *lameness*, and I straight will halt;
Against thy reasons making no defence."

Again, in the 37th Sonnet:—

"As a decrepit father takes delight
To see his active child do deeds of youth,
So I, made *lame* by fortune's dearest spite,
Take all my comfort of thy worth and truth."

These lines have been interpreted to mean that William Shakspeare was literally lame, and that his lameness was such as to limit him, when he became an actor, to the representation of the parts of old men. We should, on the contrary, have no doubt whatever that the verses we have quoted may be most fitly received in a metaphorical sense, were there not some subsequent lines in the 37th Sonnet which really appear to have a literal meaning; and thus to render the previous *lame* and *lameness* expressive of something more than the general self-abasement which they would otherwise appear to imply. In

the following lines *lame* means something distinct from *poor* and *despised*:—

“For whether beauty, birth, or wealth, or wit,
Or any of these all, or all, or more,
Entitled in thy parts do crowned sit,
I make my love engrafted to this store:
So then I am not *lame*, poor; nor despis’d,
Whilst that this shadow doth such substance give.”

Of one thing, however, we may be quite sure—that, if Shakspeare were lame, his infirmity was not such as to disqualify him for active bodily exertion. The same series of verses that have suggested this belief that he was lame also show that he was a horseman. His entire works exhibit that familiarity with external nature, with rural occupations, with athletic sports, which is incompatible with an inactive boyhood. It is not impossible that some natural defect, or some accidental injury, may have modified the energy of such a child, and have cherished in him that love of books, and traditionary lore, and silent contemplation, without which his intellect could not have been nourished into its wondrous strength. But we cannot imagine William Shakspeare a petted child, chained to home, not breathing the free air upon his native hills, denied the boy’s privilege to explore every nook of his own river. We would imagine him communing from the first with Nature, as Gray has painted him—

“The *dauntless* child
Stretch’d forth his little arms and smil’d.”

The only qualifications necessary for the admission of a boy into the Free Grammar School of Stratford were, that he should be a resident in the town, of seven years of age, and able to read. The Grammar School was essentially connected with the Corporation of Stratford; and it is impossible to imagine that, when the son of John Shakspeare became qualified by age for admission to a school where the best education of the time was given, literally for nothing, his father, in that year, being chief

alderman, should not have sent him to that school. We assume, without any hesitation, that William Shakspeare did receive in every just sense of the word the education of a scholar; and as such education was to be had at his own door, we also assume that he was brought up at the Free Grammar School of his own town. His earlier instruction would therefore be a preparation for this school, and the probability is that such instruction was given him at home.

A question arises, did William Shakspeare receive his elementary instruction in Christianity from the books sanctioned by the Reformed Church? It has been maintained that his father belonged to the Roman Catholic persuasion. This belief rests upon the following foundation:—In the year 1770, Thomas Hart, who then inhabited one of the tenements in Henley Street which had been bequeathed to his family by William Shakspeare's granddaughter, employed a bricklayer to new tile the house; and this bricklayer, by name Mosley, found hidden between the rafters and the tiling a manuscript consisting of six leaves stitched together, which he gave to Mr. Peyton, an Alderman of Stratford, who sent it to Mr. Malone. through the Rev. Mr. Devonport, vicar of Stratford. This paper, which was first published by Malone in 1790, is printed also in Reed's Shakspeare and in Drake's 'Shakspeare and his Times.' It consists of fourteen articles, purporting to be a confession of faith of "John Shakspeare, an unworthy member of the holy Catholic religion." We have no hesitation whatever in believing this document to be altogether a fabrication. Malone, when he first published the paper in his edition of Shakspeare, said—"I have taken some pains to ascertain the authenticity of this manuscript, and, after a very careful inquiry, am perfectly satisfied that it is genuine." In 1796, however, in his work on the Ireland forgeries, he asserts—"I have since obtained documents that clearly prove it could not have been the composition of any one of our poet's family. We not only do not believe that it was "the composition of any one of our poet's family," but we do not believe that it is the work of a Roman

Catholic at all. That John Shakspeare was what we popularly call a Protestant in the year 1568, when his son William was four years old, may be shown by the clearest proofs. He was in that year the chief magistrate of Stratford; he could not have become so without taking the Oath of Supremacy, according to the statute of the 1st of Elizabeth, 1558-9. To refuse this oath was made punishable with forfeiture and imprisonment, with the pains of *præmunire* and high treason. "The conjecture," says Chalmers (speaking in support of the authenticity of this confession of faith), "that Shakspeare's family were Roman Catholics is strengthened by the fact that his father declined to attend the corporation meetings, and was at last removed from the corporate body." He was removed from the corporate body in 1585, with a distinct statement of the reason for this removal—his non-attendance when summoned to the halls. According to this reasoning of Chalmers, John Shakspeare did not hesitate to take the Oath of Supremacy when he was chief magistrate in 1564, but retired from the corporation in 1585, where he might have remained without offence to his own conscience or to others, being, in the language of that day, a Popish recusant, to be stigmatized as such, persecuted, and subject to the most odious restrictions. If he left or was expelled the corporation for his religious opinions, he would, of course, not attend the service of the church, for which offence he would be liable, in 1585, to a fine of 20*l.* per month; and then, to crown the whole, in this his last confession, spiritual will, and testament, he calls upon all his kinsfolks to assist and succour him after his death "with the holy sacrifice of the mass," with a promise that he "will not be ungrateful unto them for so great a benefit," well knowing that by the Act of 1581 the saying of mass was punishable by a year's imprisonment and a fine of 200 marks, and the hearing of it by a similar imprisonment and a fine of 100 marks. The fabrication appears to us as gross as can well be imagined.

To the grammar-school, then, with some preparation, we hold that William Shakspeare goes, about the year

1571. His father is at this time, as we have said, chief alderman of his town ; he is a gentleman, now, of repute and authority ; he is Master John Shakspeare ; and assuredly the worthy curate of the neighbouring village of Luddington, Thomas Hunt, who was also the school-master, would have received his new scholar with some kindness. As his “ shining morning face ” first passed out of the main street into that old court through which the upper room of learning was to be reached, a new life would be opening upon him. The humble minister of religion who was his first instructor has left no memorials of his talents or his acquirements ; and in a few years another master came after him, Thomas Jenkins, also unknown to fame. All praise and honour be to them ; for it is impossible to imagine that the teachers of William Shakspeare were evil instructors—giving the boy husks instead of wholesome aliment. They could not have been harsh and perverse instructors, for such spoil the gentlest natures, and his was always gentle :—“ My gentle Shakspeare ” is he called by a rough but noble spirit—one in whom was all honesty and genial friendship under a rude exterior. His wondrous abilities could not be spoiled even by ignorant instructors.

There are local associations connected with Stratford which could not be without their influence in the formation of Shakspeare’s mind. Within the range of such a boy’s curiosity were the fine old historic towns of Warwick and Coventry, the sumptuous palace of Kenilworth, the grand monastic remains of Evesham. His own Avon abounded with spots of singular beauty, quiet hamlets, solitary woods. Nor was Stratford shut out from the general world, as many country towns are. It was a great highway ; and dealers with every variety of merchandise resorted to its fairs. The eyes of Shakspeare must always have been open for observation. When he was eleven years old Elizabeth made her celebrated progress to Lord Leicester’s castle of Kenilworth ; and there he might even have been a witness to some of the “ princely pleasures ” of masques and mummeries which were the imperfect utterance of the early drama. At

Coventry, too, the ancient mysteries and pageants were still exhibited in the streets, the last sounds of those popular exhibitions which, dramatic in their form, were amongst the most tasteless and revolting appeals to the senses. More than all, the players sometimes even came to Stratford. What they played, and with what degree of excellence, we shall presently have occasion to mention.

A belief has obtained that William Shakspeare's family, about his fourteenth year, became embarrassed in their circumstances, and subsequently fell into great poverty. The question is not uninteresting, looking at the probable influence of such a state of his father's circumstances upon the future destiny of the great poet. A passage in the poet's 'Life' by Rowe has led to the painstaking by which this theory has been sought to be established:—
"His father, who was a considerable dealer in wool, had so large a family, ten children in all, that, though he was his eldest son, he could give him no better education than his own employment. He had bred him, it is true, for some time at a free-school, where, it is probable, he acquired what Latin he was master of; but the narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his assistance at home, forced his father to withdraw him from thence, and unhappily prevented his further proficiency in that language. It is without controversy that in his works we scarce find any traces of anything that looks like an imitation of the ancients." Rowe then goes on to assume that because he did not copy from the ancients he had never read them; he has given us no facts to prove the narrowness of his father's circumstances. Malone however says there is "abundant proof" that when our author was about fourteen years old his father was "by no means in affluent or even easy circumstances." This may be. He supplies however certain extracts from the Corporation and parochial books to show that John Shakspeare was "in distressed circumstances." These are, we think, all capable of another interpretation. But there is one entry which would be decisive if it could be proved to apply to the poet's father. In 1586 a return is made

into the Bailiff's Court, upon an action for debt, upon which distraint was ordered against John Shakspeare; and the return sets forth that he has nothing upon which distress can be levied. This would indeed imply a breaking up of the family, a scattering of all their worldly goods. But Malone, who has taken very laudable pains to show that there was *another* John Shakspeare in Stratford, a shoemaker, who married in 1584, and actually received a *loan out of a charity-fund* about that time, does not suggest the possibility that *this* might be the John Shakspeare who had no goods to be taken in execution. The return in the Bailiff's Court does not designate the debtor by the alderman's received title of *master*, or *magister*. The rise however of our poet's father must have been as rapid as his fall—if he had fallen; for there is a memorandum affixed to the grant of arms in 1596—"he hath lands and tenements, of good wealth and substance, 500*l*." Malone assumes that this is a fiction of the Heralds' Office. Why cannot we, who read the past thus darkly—who even know so little of the present—be content with what is obvious in private or public history?

Inquiries such as these would be worse than useless, unless they had some distinct bearing on the probable career of William Shakspeare. Of the earlier part of that career nothing can, probably, ever be known with certainty. His father added to his independent means, we have no doubt, by combining several occupations in the principal one of looking after a little land; exactly in the way which Harrison has described. Shakspeare's youth was, in all probability, one of very desultory employment, which afforded him leisure to make those extraordinary acquisitions of general knowledge which could scarcely have been made, or rather, the foundations of which could not have been established, during the active life which we believe he led from about his twentieth year. It is in this manner, we are inclined to think, that we must reconcile the contradictory traditions of his early employment. As his father, carrying on various occupations connected with his little property, might, after

the lapse of years, have been a woolman in the imperfect recollection of some, and a butcher in that of others, so his illustrious son, having no very settled employment, may have been either reputed an assistant to his father, a lawyer's clerk, a schoolmaster, or a wild scapegrace, according to the imperfect chroniclers of a country-town, who, after he returned amongst them a rich man, would rejoice in gossiping over the wondrous doings of the boy. It is thus, we believe, that old Aubrey, having been amongst the parish-clerks and barbers of Stratford some fifty years after Shakspeare was dead, tells us, "from Mr. Beeston"—"though, as Ben Jonson says of him, that he had but little Latin and less Greek, he understood Latin pretty well, for he had been in *his younger years* a schoolmaster in the country." His precocious gravity as a schoolmaster must have been as wonderful as his poetical power; for Aubrey also tells us, "this William, being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London, I guess about *eighteen*, and did act exceedingly well. . . . He began *early* to make essays at dramatic poetry, which at that time was very low, and his plays took well." Here, we think, is a statement not very far from the truth,—a statement derived from Aubrey's London information. The stories of the butcher and the schoolmaster were Stratford traditions, perhaps also with some shadow of reality about them.

The earliest connected narrative of Shakspeare's life, that of Rowe, thus briefly continues the history of the boy:—"Upon his leaving school he seems to have given entirely into that way of living which his father proposed to him; and in order to settle in the world after a family manner, he thought fit to marry while he was yet very young. His wife was the daughter of one Hathaway, said to have been a substantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford." The information which Betterton thus collected as to Shakspeare's early marriage was perfectly accurate. He did marry "the daughter of one Hathaway," and he was no doubt "a substantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford." At Shottery, a pretty village within a mile of the town, there is yet a

farm-house, now divided into two tenements, where it is affirmed that Hathaway dwelt. By a copy of Court Roll, of the date of 1543, it appears that John Hathaway then held a copyhold estate at Shottery. The identical farm-house or cottage, with its little garden and orchard, remained in the possession of the descendants of the Hathaways till 1838: it was then sold. William Shakspeare was married to Anna Hathaway before the close of the year 1582. He was then eighteen years and a half old. This was indeed an early marriage. His wife was considerably older than himself. Her tombstone states that she died "on the 6th day of August, 1623, being of the age of sixty-seven years." In 1623 Shakspeare would have been fifty-nine years old. The marriage bond and licence were discovered amongst the papers of the Consistorial Court at Worcester, in 1836; and were published, by Mr. Wheler of Stratford, in the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' The bondsmen are, Fulk Sandells, of Stratford, farmer, and John Richardson, of the same place, farmer, and they are held and bound in the sum of 40*l.*, &c. This bond is dated the 28th of November, in the 25th year of Elizabeth—that is, in 1582. The bondsmen subscribe their marks. The licence is affixed to the bond, and the remarkable part of this document is, that they were to be married "with *once* asking of the bans;" they were not to be married "without the consent" of Anne's friends. There is no record where they were married. In 1583 an entry of the baptism of "Susanna, daughter to William Shakspeare" is found in the Stratford register. The entry is the fourth of the month, the word *May* being attached to the first entry of the month. A comparison of the dates of the marriage licence and the baptism of Shakspeare's first child leads to the obvious conclusion that the same fault into which the courtly Raleigh and the high-born Elizabeth Throgmorton had fallen had disturbed the peace of the humble family of the Hathaways, and had no doubt made the mother of the imprudent boy-poet weep bitter tears. But there was instant reparation—a reparation, too, that must have been the voluntary act of him who had committed the

error. The troth-plight had no doubt preceded the legal marriage. There was however no public shame. William Shakspeare was an inhabitant of Stratford, and his wife is denoted as such in the licence;—and there they dwelt when they were married;—and there their children were born;—and there they lived in their later years in opulence;—and there they died. We can see no useful purpose to be served in drawing inferences unfavourable to the general character of Shakspeare's wife from the document which has been discovered, and especially in assuming that domestic unhappiness banished him from Stratford. Early in 1585 twin children were born to him,—and they were baptized on the 2nd of February as “Hamnet and Judeth.”

The cause which *drove* Shakspeare from Stratford is thus stated by Rowe:—“He had, by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company, and, amongst them, some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing engaged him more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, near Stratford. For this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and in order to revenge that ill usage he made a ballad upon him. And though this, probably the first essay of his poetry, be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter, that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time, and shelter himself in London.” All this, amongst a great deal of falsehood, probably contained some tissue of the truth—such as the truth appeared to the good old folks of Stratford in Betterton's time, who had heard stories from their grandfathers of what a wild young fellow the rich man was who bought the largest house in Stratford. Malone undertakes to get rid of the deer-stealing tradition, by telling us that there was no *park*, properly so called, at Charlecote. It is more material that the statute of the 5th of Elizabeth, which Malone also recites, shows clearly enough that the hunting, killing, or driving out deer from any park was a trespass punished at the

most with three months' imprisonment and treble damages. Sir Thomas Lucy, who was on terms of intimacy with the respectable inhabitants of Stratford, acting as arbitrator in their disputes, was not very likely to have punished the son of an alderman of that town with any extraordinary severity, even if his deer had been taken away. To kill a buck was then an offence not quite so formidable as the shooting of a partridge in our own times. But we may judge of the value of the tradition from some papers, originally the manuscripts of Mr. Fulman, an antiquary of the seventeenth century, which, with additions of his own, were given to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on the decease of the Rev. Richard Davies, rector of Sandford, Oxfordshire, in 1707. The gossip of Stratford had no doubt travelled to the worthy rector's locality, and rare gossip it is:—" *He* (Shakspeare) was much given to all unluckiness, in stealing venison *and rabbits*, particularly from Sir Lucy, *who had him oft whipt*, and *sometimes imprisoned*, and at last made him fly his native country, to his great advancement. But his revenge was so great that he is his Justice *Clodpate*; and calls him a great man, and that, in allusion to his name, bore three *lowses* rampant for his arms." Is it necessary to do more than recite such legends to furnish the best answer to them?

Although John Shakspeare, at the time of his son's early marriage, was not, as we think, "in distressed circumstances," his means were not such probably, at any time, as to have allowed him to have borne the charge of his son's family. That William Shakspeare maintained them by some honourable course of industry we cannot doubt. Scrivener or schoolmaster, he was employed. It is on every account to be believed that the altered circumstances in which he had placed himself, in connection with the natural ambition which a young man, a husband and a father, would entertain, led him to London not very long after his marriage. There, it is said, the author of 'Venus and Adonis' obtained a subsistence after the following ingenious fashion:—"Many came on horseback to the play, and when Shakspeare fled to Lon-

don from the terror of a criminal prosecution, his first expedient was to wait at the door of the playhouse, and hold the horses of those who had no servants, that they might be ready again after the performance. In this office he became so conspicuous for his care and readiness, that in a short time every man as he alighted called for Will Shakspeare, and scarcely any other waiter was trusted with a horse while Will Shakspeare could be had." Steevens objects to this surpassing anecdote of the horse-holding, that the practice of *riding* to the playhouse never began, and was never continued, and that Shakspeare could not have held horses at the playhouse-door because people went thither by water. We believe there is a stronger objection still: until *Will Shakspeare* converted the English drama from a rude, tasteless, semi-barbarous entertainment, into a high intellectual feast for men of education and refinement, those who kept horses did not go to the public theatres at all. There were representations in the private houses of the great, which men of some wit and scholarship wrote, with a most tiresome profusion of unmeaning words, pointless incidents, and vague characterization,—and these were called plays; and there were "storial shows" in the public theatres, to which the coarsest melo-drama that is now exhibited at Bartholomew Fair would be as superior as Shakspeare is superior to the highest among his contemporaries. But from 1580 to 1585, when Shakspeare and Shakspeare's boys are described as holding horses at the playhouse-door, it may be affirmed that the English *drama*, such as we now understand by the term, had to be created. We believe that Shakspeare was in the most eminent degree its creator. He had, as we think, written his 'Venus and Adonis,' perhaps in a fragmentary shape, before he left Stratford. It was first printed in 1593, and is dedicated to Lord Southampton. The dedication is one of the few examples of Shakspeare mentioning a word of himself or his works:—"I know not how I shall offend in dedicating my unpolished lines to your lordship, nor how the world will censure me for choosing so strong a prop to support so weak a burden; only if your honour

seem but pleased, I account myself highly praised, and vow to take advantage of all idle hours till I have honoured you with some graver labour. But if the first heir of my invention prove deformed, I shall be sorry it had so noble a godfather, and never after ear so barren a land, for fear it yield me still so bad a harvest. I leave it to your honourable survey, and your honour to your heart's content, which I wish may always answer your own wish and the world's hopeful expectation." The dedication is simple and manly. In 1593 then Shakspeare had an employment—a recognised one—for he speaks of "idle hours" to be devoted to poetry. He calls this poem too "the first heir of my invention." If it "prove deformed," he will never after ear (plough) so barren a land." Will he give up writing for the stage then? It is a remarkable proof of the low reputation of the drama that even the dramatic works which Shakspeare had unquestionably produced in 1593 were not here alluded to. The drama scarcely then aspired to the character of poetry. The "some graver labour" which he contemplated was another *poem*; and he did produce another the next year, which he also dedicated to the same friend. This was the 'Rape of Lucrece.' Perhaps these poems were published to vindicate his reputation as a writer against the jealousies of some of the contemporary dramatists. But we still think that he used the term "first heir of my invention" in its literal sense; and that 'Venus and Adonis'—or at least a sketch of it—was the first production of his imagination, his invention. It bears every mark of a youthful composition; it would have been more easily produced by the Shakspeare of eighteen or twenty than any of his earliest dramas. He had models of such writing as the 'Venus and Adonis' before him. Chaucer he must have diligently studied; Spenser had published his 'Shepherd's Calendar,' his Hymns to Love and Beauty, and other poems, when Shakspeare's genius was budding amidst his native fields. But when he wrote 'Henry VI.' or the first 'Hamlet,' where could he seek for models of dramatic blank verse, of natural dialogue, of strong and consistent

character? He had to work without models; and this was the real "graver labour" of his early manhood. It has been discovered by Mr. Collier that in 1589, when Shakspeare was only twenty-five, he was a joint proprietor in the Blackfriars theatre, with a fourth of the other proprietors below him in the list. He had, at twenty-five, a standing in society; he had the means, without doubt, of maintaining his family; as he advanced in the proprietorship of the same theatre, he realized a fortune. How had he been principally occupied from the time he left Stratford, to have become somewhat rapidly a person of importance amongst his "friends and fellows?" We think, by making himself useful to them, beyond all comparison with others, by his writings. It appears to us not improbable that even before Shakspeare left Stratford, he had attempted some play or plays which had become known to the London players. Thomas Greene, who in 1586 was the fourth on the list of the Blackfriars shareholders, was said to be Shakspeare's fellow townsman. But the young poet might have found another and more important friend in the Blackfriars company:—Richard Burbage, the great actor, who in his own day was called "the English Roscius," was also of Shakspeare's county. In a letter of Lord Southampton to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere (written about 1608), introducing Burbage and Shakspeare to the chancellor, it is said:—"They are both of one county, and indeed almost of one town." It is perfectly clear therefore that Shakspeare, from the easy access that he might have procured to these men, would have received inviting offers to join them in London, provided he had manifested any ability which would be useful to them. That ability, we have no doubt, was manifested by the production of original plays (as well as by acting) some time before he had attained the rank and profit of a shareholder in the Blackfriars company.

The theory that Shakspeare had not produced any of his dramas till several years after he was a shareholder in the Blackfriars theatre, is generally upheld by the assertion that he is not noticed by any contemporary

writer till after the period usually assigned to the commencement of his career as a dramatic author; that is, about 1592. There is an allusion to 'Hamlet' by Nashe, in 1589; and the most reasonable belief is, that this was Shakspeare's Hamlet—an earlier sketch than the early one which exists. We believe, with Dryden and Rowe, that a remarkable passage in Spenser's 'Thalia' applies to Shakspeare, and that poem was published in 1591. The application of these passages to Shakspeare is strongly disputed by those who assign the first of his plays to 1593. In an age when there were no newspapers and no reviews, it must be extremely difficult to trace the course of any man, however eminent, by the notices of the writers of his times. An author's fame then was not borne through every quarter of the land in the very hour in which it was won. More than all, the reputation of a dramatic writer could scarcely be known, except to a resident in London, until his works were committed to the press. The first play of Shakspeare's which was printed was 'The First Part of the Contention' ('Henry VI.,' Part II.), and that did not appear till 1594. Now Malone says, "In Webbe's 'Discourse of English Poetry,' published in 1586, we meet with the name of most of the celebrated poets of that time; particularly those of George Whetstone and Anthony Munday, who were dramatic writers; but we find no trace of our author, or any of his works." But Malone does not tell us that in Webbe's 'Discourse of Poetry' we meet with the following passage:—"I am humbly to desire pardon of the learned company of gentlemen, scholars, and students of the universities and inns of court, if I omit their several commendations in this place, which I know a great number of them have worthily deserved, in many rare devices and singular inventions of poetry; for neither hath it been my good hap to have seen all which I have heard of, neither is my abiding in such place where I can with facility get knowledge of their works." "Three years afterwards," continues Malone, "Puttenham printed his 'Art of English Poesy;' and in that work also we look in vain for the name of Shakspeare." The

book speaks of the one-and-thirty years' space of Elizabeth's reign; and thus puts the date of the writing a year earlier than the printing. But we here look in vain for some other illustrious names besides those of Shakspeare. Malone has not told us that not one of Shakspeare's early dramatic contemporaries is mentioned—neither Marlowe, nor Greene, nor Peele, nor Kyd, nor Lyly. The author evidently derives his knowledge of "poets and poesy" from a much earlier period than that in which he publishes. He does not mention Spenser by *name*, but he does "that other gentleman who wrote the late 'Shepherd's Calender.'" The 'Shepherd's Calendar' of Spenser was published in the year 1579. Malone goes on to argue that the omission of Shakspeare's name, or any other notice of his works, in Sir John Harrington's 'Apology of Poetry,' printed in 1591, in which he takes occasion to speak of the theatre, and mentions some of the celebrated dramas of that time, is a proof that none of Shakspeare's dramatic compositions had then appeared. Does he mention 'Tamburlaine,' or 'Faus-tus,' or 'The Massacre of Paris,' or 'The Jew of Malta'? As he does not, it may be assumed with equal justice that none of Marlowe's compositions had appeared in 1591; and yet we know that he died in 1593. So of Lyly's 'Galathea,' 'Alexander and Campaspe,' 'Endymion,' &c. So of Greene's 'Orlando Furioso,' 'Friar Bacon,' 'James IV.' So of the 'Spanish Tragedy' of Kyd. The truth is, that Harrington, in his notice of celebrated dramas, was even more antiquated than Puttenham; and his evidence therefore in this matter is utterly worthless. But Malone has given his crowning proof that Shakspeare had not written before 1591, in the following words:—"Sir Philip Sidney, in his 'Defence of Poesie,' speaks at some length of the low state of dramatic literature at the time he composed his treatise, but has not the slightest allusion to Shakspeare, whose plays, had they then appeared, would doubtless have rescued the English stage from the contempt which is thrown upon it by the accomplished writer: and to which it was justly exposed by the wretched compositions of those who preceded

our poet. 'The Defence of Poesie' was not published till 1595, but must have been written some years before." There is one slight objection to this argument: Sir Philip Sidney was killed at the battle of Zutphen, in the year 1586; and it would really have been somewhat surprising if the illustrious author of the 'Defence of Poesy' could have included Shakspeare in his account "of the low state of dramatic literature at the time he composed this treatise."

If the instances of the mention of Shakspeare by his contemporaries during his lifetime be not numerous, we are compensated by the fulness and explicitness of one notice—that of Francis Meres, in 1598. Short as his notice is, it is by far the most valuable contribution which we possess towards the 'Life' of Shakspeare. Meres was a master of arts of Cambridge, and subsequently entered the church. In 1558 he published a book called '*Palladis Tamia*, Wit's Treasury.' It is a collection of moral sentences from ancient writers, and it is described by Anthony Wood as "a noted school-book." Prefixed to it is 'A Comparative Discourse of our English Poets.' Nothing can be more decisive than this 'Comparative Discourse' as to the rank which, in 1598, Shakspeare had taken amongst the most eminent of his contemporaries.

"As the Greek tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, Æschylus, Sophocles, Pindarus, Phocylides, and Aristophanes; and the Latin tongue by Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Ausonius, and Claudianus; so the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously invested in rare ornaments and resplendent habiliments, by Sir Philip Sidney, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakspeare, Marlow, and Chapman.

"As the soul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakspeare; witness his 'Venus and Adonis,' his 'Lucrece,' his sugared sonnets among his private friends, &c.

"As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for

comedy and tragedy among the Latins, so Shakspeare, among the English, is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for comedy, witness his 'Gentlemen of Verona,' his 'Errors,' his 'Love Labours Lost,' his 'Love Labours Won,' his 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' and his 'Merchant of Venice;' for tragedy, his 'Richard II.,' 'Richard III.,' 'Henry IV.,' 'King John,' 'Titus Andronicus,' and his 'Romeo and Juliet.'

"As Epilus Stolo said that the Muses would speak with Plautus's tongue, if they would speak Latin; so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakspeare's fine filed phrase if they would speak English."

The list of Shakspeare's plays which Meres gives in 1598 can scarcely be supposed to be a complete one. Previous to 1598 there had been only *printed* the two Parts of the 'Contention' (now know as the 'Second and Third Parts of Henry VI.),' 'Richard III.,' 'Richard II.,' and 'Romeo and Juliet.' Of the six comedies mentioned by Meres, not one had been published; neither had 'Henry IV.,' 'King John,' nor 'Titus Andronicus;' but in 1597 'Love's Labour's Lost,' and the 'First Part of Henry IV.,' had been entered in Stationers' Hall. Without the list of Meres therefore we could not have absolutely shown that the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' the 'Comedy of Errors,' the 'All's Well that Ends Well' (which we have every reason to think was designated as 'Love Labours Won'), the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' the 'Merchant of Venice,' the 'King John,' and the 'Titus Andronicus,' were written and produced before 1598. The list of Meres omits the original 'Hamlet,' and the 'Taming of the Shrew,' which we may believe were produced before 1598; but, looking at Meres' list alone, how gloriously had Shakspeare earned that reputation which he had thus acquired in 1598! He was then thirty-four years of age, but he had produced all his great historical plays, with the exception of 'Henry V.' and 'Henry VIII.' He had given us 'Romeo and Juliet,' and had even "corrected and augmented" it; the stage was in possession, and the fame acknowledged, of six of his most delicious comedies. Before the close of

that century we have little doubt that he had also produced 'Henry V.,' the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' and 'Much Ado about Nothing.'

Of the plays thus produced before the close of the sixteenth century, we would assign several (not fewer than nine, including the doubtful plays) to the period from Shakspeare's early manhood to 1591. Some of those dramas may possibly then have been created in an imperfect state, very different from that in which we have received them. If the 'Titus Andronicus' and 'Pericles' are Shakspeare's, they belong to his epoch in their first state, whatever it might have been. We have no doubt that the three plays, in their original form, which we now call the three Parts of 'Henry VI.,' were his; and they also belong to this epoch. That 'Hamlet' in a very imperfect state, probably more imperfect even than the sketch in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, is the play alluded to by Nashe in 1589, we have little doubt. In the Duke of Devonshire's copy, dated 1602, there are passages, afterwards omitted, which decidedly refer to an early state of the stage. Amongst the comedies, 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona,' 'Love's Labour's Lost,' 'The Comedy of Errors,' and 'The Taming of the Shrew,' contain very strong external evidence, especially in the structure of their versification, that they belong to the poet's earliest period. When the time arrived that he had fully dedicated himself to the great work of his life, he had rarely ventured upon cultivating the offshoots of his early versification. The doggerel was entirely rejected—the alternate rhymes no longer tempted him by their music to introduce a measure which is scarcely akin with the dramatic spirit—the couplet was adopted more and more sparingly—and he finally adheres to the blank verse which he may almost be said to have created—in his hands certainly the grandest as well as the sweetest form in which the highest thoughts were ever unfolded to listening humanity. We have only one drama to add to this cycle, and that we believe, was 'Romeo and Juliet' in its original form.

The 'Midsummer Night's Dream' may be taken, we

apprehend, as a connecting link between the dramas which belong to the first cycle and those which may be assigned to the remaining years of the sixteenth century.

We have little difficulty in determining the plays which belong to Shakspeare's *middle* period. The list of Meres, and the dates of the original editions of those plays, are our best guides. The exact years in which they first appeared can only be determined in one or two cases; and it is of little consequence if they could be determined. The earliest of the historical plays of this cycle were those which completed the great story of the wars of the Roses. 'Richard III.' naturally terminated the eventful history of the House of York; 'Richard II.' commenced the more magnificent exhibition of the fortunes of the House of Lancaster. Both these plays were printed in 1597. The two great historical plays of 'Henry IV.' which succeeded them were, no doubt, produced before 1596. 'Henry V.' undoubtedly belongs to that year; and this great song of national triumph grew out of the earlier history of the "mad-cap Prince of Wales." The three latter histories are most remarkable for the exhibition of the greatest comic power that the world has ever seen. When the genius of Shakspeare produced Falstaff, its most distinguishing characteristics, his wit and humour, had attained their extremest perfection. There is much of the same high comedy in 'King John.' This was the period which also produced those comic dramas which are most distinguished for their brilliancy of dialogue—the "fine filed phrase" which Meres describes—'The Merry Wives of Windsor,' 'Much Ado about Nothing,' and 'Twelfth Night,' 'The Merchant of Venice,' and 'All's Well that Ends Well,' belong to the more romantic class. The 'Twelfth Night' was originally thought to have been one of Shakspeare's latest plays; but it is now proved beyond a doubt that it was acted in the Middle Temple Hall in the Christmas of 1601.

The close of the sixteenth century brings us to Shakspeare's thirty-fifth year. He had then been about fifteen years in London. We are not willing to believe that

his whole time was passed in the capital. It is not necessary to believe it; for the evidence, such as it is, partly gossip and partly documentary, makes for the contrary opinion. Aubrey tells us "the humour of the constable in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' he happened to take at Grendon in Bucks, which is the road from London to Stratford, and there was living that constable about 1642, when I first came to Oxon." The honest antiquary makes a slight mistake here. There is no constable in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream;' but he probably refers to the ever-famous Dogberry or Verges. In the same paper Aubrey says, "he was wont to go to his native country once a-year."

But we have more trustworthy evidence than that of John Aubrey for believing that Shakspeare, however indispensable a protracted residence in London might be to his interests and those of his family, never cast aside the link which bound him to his native town. In 1596 his only son died, and in Stratford he was buried. The parochial register gives us the melancholy record of this loss. This event, afflicting as it must have been, did not render the great poet's native town less dear to him. There his father and mother, there his wife and daughters, there his sister still lived. In 1597 he purchased the principal house in Stratford. It was built by Sir Hugh Clopton, in the reign of Henry VII., and was devised by him under the name of *the great house*. Dugdale describes it as "a fair house built of brick and timber." It appears to have been sold out of the Clopton family before it was purchased by Shakspeare. In the poet's will it is described as "all that capital messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, in Stratford aforesaid, called the New Place." It is now incontestably proved that in the year previous to 1596 Shakspeare held a much more important rank as a sharer in the Blackfriars Theatre than in 1589; and that the Globe Theatre also belonged to the body of proprietors of which he was one. A petition to the privy council, presented in 1596, was found in the State Paper Office a few years ago, in which the names of the Petitioners stand as follows:—

“ The humble petition of Thomas Pope, Richard Burbage, John Hemmings, Augustine Phillips, William Shakspeare, William Kempe, William Sly, Nicholas Tooley, and others, servants to the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain to her Majesty.”

There is a tradition that the valuable estate of New Place was purchased by Shakspeare through the munificent assistance of Lord Southampton. It is pleasant to believe such a tradition; but it is not necessary to account for Shakspeare's property in the theatres, or even for his purchase of New Place at Stratford, that we should imagine that some extraordinary prodigality of bounty had been lavished on him. He obtained his property in the theatre by his honest labours, steadily exerted, though with unequalled facility, from his earliest manhood. The profits which he received not only enabled him to maintain his family, but to create an estate; and his was not a solitary case. Edward Alleyn, who was a contemporary of Shakspeare, a player and a theatrical proprietor, realized a fortune; and he founded Dulwich College.

It has been held, especially by the German critics, that the Sonnets of Shakspeare have not been sufficiently regarded as a store of materials for his biography; and it has been very ingeniously attempted by a recent writer, Mr. Brown, to show that the whole of these, with a few slight exceptions, are to be taken as a continuous poem or poems. He calls them Shakspeare's ‘ Autobiographical Poems.’ But we would ask, can these one hundred and fifty-four Sonnets be received as a continuous poem upon any other principle than that the author had written them continuously? If there are some parts which are acknowledged interpolations, may there not be other parts that are open to the same belief? If there are parts entirely different in their tone from the bulk of these Sonnets, may we not consider that one portion was meant to be artificial and another real,—that the poet sometimes spoke in an assumed character, sometimes in a natural one? This theory we know could not hold if the poet had himself arranged the sequence of these verses; but

as it is manifest that two stanzas have been introduced from a poem printed ten years earlier—that others are acknowledged to be out of order—and others positively dragged in without the slightest connexion—may we not carry the separation still further, and believing that the “begetter” (by which name some W. H. is honoured by the bookseller in a dedication)—“*the getter up*—of these Sonnets had levied contributions upon all Shakspeare’s private friends,”—assume that he was indifferent to any arrangement which might make each portion of the poem tell its own history? We do not therefore take up these poems to “seize a clue which innumerable passages give us, and suppose that they allude to a youth of high rank as well as personal beauty and accomplishment, in whose favour and intimacy, according to the base prejudices of the world, a player and a poet, though he were the author of ‘Macbeth,’ might be thought honoured;” and we do not feel “the strangeness of Shakspeare’s humiliation in addressing him as a being before whose feet he crouched—whose frown he feared—whose injuries, and those of the most insulting kind, he felt and bewailed without resenting.” (Hallam’s *Literature of Europe*.)

The view which we take of the probable admixture of the artificial and the real in the Sonnets, arising from their supposed original fragmentary state, necessarily leads to the belief that some are accurate illustrations of the poet’s situation and feelings. It is collected from these Sonnets, for example, that his profession as a player was disagreeable him; and this complaint, be it observed, might be addressed to any one of his family, or some honoured friend, such as Lord Southampton, as well as to the principal object of so many of those lyrics which contain a “leading idea, with variations:”—

“O, for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
 The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
 That did not better for my life provide
 Than public means, which public manners breeds.
 Thence comes it that my name receives a brand,

And almost thence my nature is subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand."

But if from his professional occupation his nature was felt by him] to be subdued to what it worked it,—if thence his name received a brand,—if vulgar scandal sometimes assailed him,—he had high thoughts to console him, such as were never before imparted to mortal. This was probably written in some period of dejection, when his heart was ill at ease, and he looked upon the world with a slight tinge of indifference, if not of dislike. Every man of high genius has felt something of this. It was reserved for the highest to throw it off, "like dew-drops from the lion's mane." After a very full consideration of Shakspeare's *dramatic* works, we are come to the conclusion that he possessed, above all other men, so complete a mastery over the tendency to colour general representations of life and character with personal views and circumstances, that he invariably went out of himself,—that he saw nothing through his own individual feelings,—and that thus none of his portraits are alike, because none are personifications of his own nature—his own life—his own self-consciousness. If there are some portions of his Sonnets which are conceived in an entirely different spirit, we think they are not very numerous, and must be received as evidences of personal character, habits, and feelings with great scrupulousness.

Shakspeare during the last year or two of the sixteenth century, and the opening years of the seventeenth, was for the most part in London. In 1598 we find his townsman, Richard Quiney, writing him a letter, requesting the loan of thirty pounds. Mr. Alderman Sturley, with reference to some public business of that period, not only says in a letter that "our countryman, Mr. William Shakspeare, would procure us money," but speaks "of the friends *he* can make." Such notices are decisive as to the position Shakspeare then held in the estimation of the world. In 1601 his father died; and his burial is registered at Stratford. He appears then to have had three brothers living,—Gilbert, Richard, and Edmund.

In 1603 James I. ascended the throne of England.

Lord Southampton, who had so imprudently participated in the conspiracy of Essex, was a favourite of the new king; and one almost of the first acts of the reign was a grant of a patent to the proprietors of the Blackfriars and Globe Theatres. In this patent the name of Shakspeare stands the second; the names mentioned being "Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakspeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillips, John Hemmings, Henry Condell, William Sly, Robert Armin, Richard Cowley."

It would appear that at this period Shakspeare was desirous of retiring from the more laborious duties of his profession as an actor. He desired to be appointed, there is little doubt, to the office of Master of the Queen's Revels. Daniel, a brother poet, was appointed; and in a letter to the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, he thus speaks of one of the competitors for the office:—"It seemeth to my humble judgment that one who is the author of plays now daily presented on the public stages of London, and the possessor of no small gains, and moreover himself an actor in the King's company of comedians, could not with reason pretend to be master of the Queen's Majesty's revels, forasmuch as he would sometimes be asked to approve and allow of his own writings."

But Shakspeare continued to hold his property in the theatre. In 1608 the Corporation of London again attempted to interfere with the actors of the Blackfriars; and there being little chance of ejecting them despotically, a negotiation was set on foot for the purchase of their property. A document found by Mr. Collier amongst the Egerton papers at once determines Shakspeare's position in regard to his theatrical proprietorship. It is a valuation, containing the following item:—

"Item. W. Shakespeare asketh for the wardrobe and properties of the same playhouse 500*l.*, and for his four shares, the same as his fellows Burbidge and Fletcher, viz.
933*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* 1433 6 8"

With this document was found another—unquestionably the most interesting paper ever published relating

to Shakspeare : it is a letter from Lord Southampton to Lord Ellesmere, the lord chancellor ; and it contains the following passage :*—

“ These bearers are two of the chief of the company ; one of them by name Richard Burbidge, who humbly sueth for your Lordship’s kind help, for that he is a man famous as our English Roscius, one who fitteth the action to the word and the word to the action most admirably. By the exercise of his quality, industry, and good behaviour, he hath become possessed of the Black Friars playhouse, which hath been employed for plays since it was built by his father, now near fifty years ago. The other is a man no whit less deserving favour, and my especial friend, till of late an actor of good account in the company, now a sharer in the same, and writer of some of our best English plays, which, as your Lordship knoweth, were most singularly liked of Queen Elizabeth, when the company was called upon to perform before her Majesty at court, at Christmas and Shrovetide. His most gracious Majesty King James also, since his coming to the crown, hath extended his royal favour to the company in divers ways and at sundry times. This other hath to name William Shakespeare, and they are both of one county, and indeed almost of one town : both are right famous in their qualities, though it longeth not to your Lordship’s gravity and wisdom to resort unto the places where they are wont to delight the public ear. Their trust and suit now is, not to be molested in their way of life whereby they maintain themselves and their wives and families (being both married and of good reputation), as well as the widows and orphans of some of their dead fellows.”

We may now suppose that the great poet, thus honoured and esteemed, had retired to Stratford, retaining a property in the theatre—regularly writing for it. There is an opinion that he ceased to act after 1603. In that year

* Some doubts have been cast upon the authenticity of this paper ; and it would be well if the Shakspeare Society would endeavour to clear them up.

his name is found amongst the performers of one of Ben Jonson's plays. But the years from 1605 to his death, in the April of 1616, were not idly spent. He was a practical farmer, we have little doubt. In 1604 he bought a moiety of the tithes of Stratford, which he would then probably collect in kind. He occupied the best house of the place; he had there his "curious knotted garden" to amuse him; and his orchard had many a pippin of his "own grafting." James I. recommended the cultivation of mulberry-trees in England; and who has not heard of Shakspeare's mulberry-tree? Vulgar tradition at this time represents him as writing a bitter epitaph upon his friend and neighbour John Combe, as he had satirized Sir Thomas Lucy. He was doing, we think, something better. To the first half of the period between 1604 and his death may be assigned—'Macbeth,' 'Cymbeline,' 'The Winter's Tale,' and 'The Tempest.' The very recital of the names of these glorious works, associated as they are with that quiet country-town, its beautiful Avon, its meadows, and its woodlands, is enough to make Stratford a name dear and venerable in every age.

The register of marriages at Stratford-upon-Avon for the year 1607 contains the entry of the marriage of John Hall, gentleman, and Susanna Shakspeare, on the 5th June. Susanna, the eldest daughter of William Shakspeare, was now twenty-four years of age. John Hall, gentleman, a physician settled at Stratford, was in his thirty-second year. This appears in every respect to have been a propitious alliance. Shakspeare received into his family a man of learning and talent.

The season at which the marriage of Shakspeare's elder daughter took place would appear to give some corroboration to the belief that, at this period, he had wholly ceased to be an actor. It is not likely that an event to him so deeply interesting would have taken place during his absence from Stratford. It was the season of performances at the Globe. It is at this period that we can fix the date of 'Lear.' That wonderful tragedy was first published in 1608; and the title-page recites that "It was plaid before the King's Majesty at White-Hall,

uppon S. Stephen's Night; in Christmas Hollidaies." This most extraordinary production might well have been the first fruits of a period of comparative leisure; when the creative faculty was wholly untrammelled by petty cares, and the judgment might be employed in working again and again upon the first conceptions, so as to produce such a masterpiece of consummate art without after-labour. The next season of repose gave birth to an effort of genius wholly different in character; but almost as wonderful in its profound sagacity and knowledge of the world as 'Lear' is unequalled for its depth of individual passion. 'Troilus and Cressida' was published in 1600.

The year 1608 brought its domestic joys and calamities to Shakspeare. In the same font where he had been baptized, forty-three years before, was baptized, on the 21st of February, his grand-daughter, "Elizabeth, daughter of John Hall." In the same grave where his father was laid in 1601, was buried his mother, "Mary Shakspeare, widow," on the 9th of September, 1608. She was the youngest daughter of Robert Arden, who died in 1556. She was probably, therefore, about seventy years of age when her sons followed her to the "house of all living."

There is a memorandum existing, by Thomas Greene, a contemporary of Shakspeare, residing at Stratford, which, under the date of November 17th, 1614, has this record:—"My cousin Shakspeare coming yesterday to town, I went to see him how he did." We cite this memorandum here, as an indication of Shakspeare's habit of occasionally visiting London; for Thomas Greene was then in the capital, with the intent of opposing the project of an inclosure at Stratford. The frequency of Shakspeare's visits to London would essentially depend upon the nature of his connexion with the theatres. He was a permanent shareholder, as we have seen, at the Blackfriars; and no doubt at the Globe also. His interests as a sharer might be diligently watched over by his fellows; and he might only have visited London when he had a new play to bring forward, the fruit of his leisure in the country. But until he disposed of his wardrobe and other pro-

perties, more frequent demands might be made upon his personal attendance than if he were totally free from the responsibilities belonging to the charge of such an embarrassing stock in trade.

There is distinct evidence that Shakspeare was not a resident in London in 1613; for in an indenture executed by him on the 10th of March, in that year, for the purchase of a dwelling-house in the precinct of the Blackfriars, he is described as "William Shakespeare of Stratforde Upon Avon in the countie of Warwick gentleman;" whilst his fellow John Hemyng, who is a party to the same deed, is described as "of London, gentleman." From the situation of the property it would appear to have been bought either as an appurtenance to the theatre, or for some protection of the interests of the sharers. In the deed of 1602 Shakspeare is also described as of Stratford-upon-Avon. It is natural that he should be so described, in a deed for the purchase of land at Stratford; but upon the same principle, had he been a resident in London in 1613, he would have been described as of London in a deed for the purchase of property in London. Yet we also look upon this conveyance as evidence that Shakspeare had in March, 1613, not wholly severed himself from his interest in the theatre.

Every one agrees that during the last three or four years of his life Shakspeare ceased to write. Yet we venture to think that every one is in error. The opinion is founded upon a belief that he only finally left London towards the close of 1613. It is evident, from his purchase of a large house at Stratford, his constant acquisition of landed property there, his active engagements in the business of agriculture, the interest which he took in matters connected with his property in which his neighbours had a common interest, that he must have partially left London before this period. But his biographers, having fixed a period for the termination of his connexion with the active business of the theatre, assume that he became wholly unemployed; that he gave himself up, as Rowe has described, to "ease, retirement, and the conversation of his friends." His income was enough,

they say, to dispense with labour; and therefore he did not labour. But when the days of leisure arrived, is it reasonable to believe that the mere habit of his life would not assert its ordinary control; that the greatest of intellects would suddenly sink to the condition of an everyday man—cherishing no high plans for the future, looking back with no desire to equal and excel the work of the past? At the period of life when Chaucer began to write the ‘*Canterbury Tales*,’ Shakspeare, according to his biographers, was suddenly and utterly to cease to write. We cannot believe it. Is there a parallel case in the career of any great artist who had won for himself competence and fame? Is the mere applause of the world, and a sufficiency of the goods of life, “the end-all and the be-all” of the labours of a mighty mind? These attained, is the voice of his spiritual being to be heard no more? If those who reason thus could present a satisfactory record of the dates of all Shakspeare’s works, and especially of his later works, we should still cling to the belief that some fruits of the last years of his literary industry had wholly perished. It is unnecessary, as it appears to us, to adopt any such theory. Without the means of fixing the precise date of many particular dramas, we have indisputable traces, up to this period, of the appearance of at least five-sixths of all Shakspeare’s undoubted works. Are there any dramas whose individual appearance is not accounted for by those who have attempted to fix the exact chronology of other plays? There are such dramas, and they form a class. They are the three great Roman plays of ‘*Coriolanus*,’ ‘*Julius Cæsar*,’ and ‘*Antony and Cleopatra*.’

The happy quiet of Shakspeare’s retreat was not wholly undisturbed by calamity, domestic and public. His brother Richard, who was ten years his junior, was buried at Stratford on the 4th of February, 1613. Of his father’s family his sister Joan, who had married Mr. William Hart of Stratford, was probably the only other left. There is no record of the death of his brother Gilbert; but as he is not mentioned in the will of William, in all likelihood he died before him. Oldys, in

his manuscript notes upon Langbaine, has a story of "One of Shakspeare's younger brothers, who lived to a good old age, even some years, as I compute, after the restoration of King Charles II." Gilbert was born in 1566; so that if he had lived some years after the restoration of Charles II. it is not surprising that "his memory was weakened," as Oldys reports, and that he could give "the most noted actors" but "little satisfaction in their endeavours to learn something from him of his brother." The story of Oldys is clearly apocryphal, as far as regards any brother of Shakspeare's. They were a short-lived race. His sister, indeed, survived him thirty years. The family at New Place, at this period, would be composed therefore of his wife only, and his unmarried daughter Judith; unless his elder daughter and his son-in-law formed a part of the same household, with their only child Elizabeth, who was born in 1608. The public calamity to which we have alluded was a great fire, which broke out at Stratford on the 9th of July, 1614. That Shakspeare assisted with all the energy of his character in alleviating the miseries of this calamity, and in the restoration of his town, we cannot doubt. In the same year we find him taking some interest in the project of an inclosure of the common-fields of Stratford. The inclosure would probably have improved his property, and especially have increased the value of the tithes, of the moiety of which he held a lease. The Corporation of Stratford were opposed to the inclosure. They held that it would be injurious to the poorer inhabitants, who were then deeply suffering from the desolation of the fire, and they appear to have been solicitous that Shakspeare should not take the same view of the matter as themselves, his male of friend William Combe, then high sheriff of Warwickshire, was a principal person engaged in forwarding the inclosure. The Corporation sent their friend Thomas Greene, to London, to oppose the inclosure. Greene, in a memorandum in his hand-writing, written in a second-best bed, with exhibits the business-like manner of the will upon which, informed himself of the details of the inclosure, and that Shakspeare recollected the memorandum is dated the 17th of

is as follows :—" My Cosen Shakspeare comyng yesterday to town, I went to see how he did. He told me that they assured him they meant to inclose no further than to Gospel Bush, and so upp straight (leaving out pt. of the Dyngles to the field) to the gate in Clopton hedg, and take in Salisbury's peece; and that they mean in Aprill to svey. the land and then to gyve satisfaccion, and not before: and he and Mr. Hall say they think yr. will be nothyng done at all." Mr. Greene appears to have returned to Stratford in about a fortnight after the date of this memorandum, and Shakspeare seems to have remained in London; for according to a second memorandum, which is damaged and partly illegible, an official letter was written to Shakspeare by the Corporation, accompanied by a private letter from Mr. Greene, moving him to exert his influence against this plan of the inclosure :—" 23 Dec. A. Hall, Lres. wrytten, one to Mr. Manyring—another to Mr. Shakspeare, with almost all the company's hands to eyther. I also wrytte myself to my Csn. Shakspear, the coppyes of all our . . . then also a note of the inconvenyances wold . . . by the enclosure." Arthur Mannering, to whom one of these letters was written by the Corporation, was officially connected with the Lord Chancellor, and then residing at his house; and from the letter to him, which has been preserved, "it appears that he was apprised of the injury to be expected from the intended inclosure; reminded of the damage that Stratford, then 'lying in the ashes of desolation,' had sustained from recent fires; and entreated to forbear the inclosure." The letter to Shakspeare has not been discovered. The fact of its having been written

The happy of the importance which was attached to undisturbed by his neighbours. Truly in his later years brother Richa

buried at Stratford, love, obedience, troops of friends." his father's fam

Mr. William Harbington's daughter of Shakspeare was married on other left. There is, 1616, to Thomas Quiney, as the other Gilbert; but as shows. Thomas Quiney was the William, in all likelihood of Stratford, whom we have seen

in 1598 soliciting the kind offices of his loving countryman Shakspeare. Thomas, who was born in 1588, was probably a well-educated man. The last will of Shakspeare would appear to have been prepared in some degree with reference to this marriage. It is dated the 25th of March, 1616; but the word "Januarii" seems to have been first written and afterwards struck out, "Martii" having been written above it. It is not unlikely, and indeed it appears most probable, that the document was prepared before the marriage of Judith; for the elder daughter is mentioned as Susanna Hall,—the younger simply as Judith. To her, one hundred pounds is bequeathed, and fifty pounds conditionally. The life-interest of a further sum of one hundred and fifty pounds is also bequeathed to her, with remainder to her children; but if she died without issue within three years after the date of the will, the hundred and fifty pounds was to be otherwise appropriated. We pass over the various legacies to relations and friends to come to the bequest of the great bulk of the property. All the real estate is devised to his daughter Susanna Hall, for and during the term of her natural life. It is then entailed upon her first son and his heirs male; and in default of such issue, to her second son and his heirs male; and so on: in default of such issue, to his granddaughter Elizabeth Hall (called in the language of the time his "niece"): and in default of such issue, to his daughter Judith and her heirs male. By this strict entailment it was manifestly the object of Shakspeare to found a family. Like many other such purposes of short-sighted humanity, the object was not accomplished. His elder daughter had no issue but Elizabeth, and she died childless. The heirs male of Judith died before her. The estates were scattered after the second generation; and the descendants of his sister were the only transmitters to posterity of his blood and lineage.

"Item, I give unto my wife my second-best bed, with the furniture." This is the clause of the will upon which, for half a century, all men believed that Shakspeare recol-

lected his wife only to mark how little he esteemed her,—to “cut her off, not indeed with a shilling, but an old bed.”* We had the satisfaction of first showing the utter groundlessness of this opinion; and we here briefly repeat the statement which we made in our Postscript to ‘Twelfth Night,’ that the wife of Shakspeare was unquestionably provided for by the natural operation of the law of England. His estates, with the exception of a copyhold tenement, expressly mentioned in his will, were *freehold*. *His wife was entitled to dower*. She was provided for amply, *by the clear and undeniable operation of the English law*. Of the houses and gardens which Shakspeare inherited from his father, she was assured of the life-interest of a third, should she survive her husband, the instant that old John Shakspeare died. Of the capital messuage called New Place, the best house in Stratford, which Shakspeare purchased in 1597, she was assured of the same life-interest, from the moment of the conveyance, provided it was a direct conveyance to her husband. That it was so conveyed we may infer from the terms of the conveyance of the lands in Old Stratford, and other places, which were purchased by Shakspeare in 1602, and were then conveyed “to the onley proper use and behoofe of the saide William Shakspeare, his heires and assignes for ever.” Of a life-interest in a third of these lands also was she assured. The tenement in Blackfriars, purchased in 1614, was conveyed to Shakspeare and *three other persons*; and after his death was re-conveyed by those persons to the uses of his will, “for and in performance of the confidence and trust in them reposed by William Shakspeare deceased.” In this estate, certainly, the widow of our poet had not dower. It has been remarked to us that even the express mention of the second-best bed was anything but unkindness and insult; that the best bed was in all probability an heir-loom: it might have descended to Shakspeare himself from his father as an heir-loom, and, as such, was the property of

* Malone.

his own heirs. The best bed was considered amongst the most important of those chattels which went to the heir by custom with the house.*

The will of Shakspeare thus commences:—"I, William Shakspeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, gent., in perfect health and memory, (God be praised!) do make and ordain this my last will and testament." And yet within one month of this declaration Shakspeare is no more :

OBIT ANO. DOI. 1616. ÆTAT 53. DIE 23. AP.

Such is the inscription on his tomb. It is corroborated by the register of his burial:—"April 25. Will. Shakspeare, gent." Writing forty-six years after the event, the vicar of Stratford says, "Shakspeare, Drayton, and Ben Jonson had a merry meeting, and, it seems, drank too hard, for Shakspeare died of a fever there contracted." A tradition of this nature, surviving its object nearly half a century, is not much to be relied on. But if it were absolutely true, our reverence for Shakspeare would not be diminished by the fact that he accelerated his end in the exercise of hospitality, according to the manner of his age, towards two of the most illustrious of his friends. The "merry meeting," the last of many social hours spent with the full-hearted Jonson and the elegant Drayton, may be contemplated without a painful feeling. Shakspeare possessed a mind eminently social—"he was of a free and generous nature." But, says the tradition, of half a century, "he drank too hard" at this "merry meeting." We believe that this is the vulgar colouring of a common incident. He "died of a fever there contracted." The fever that is too often the attendant upon

* "And note that in some places chattels as heir-looms (as the best bed, table, pot, pan, cart, and other dead chattels moveable) may go to the heir, and the heir in that case may have an action for them at the common law, and shall not sue for them in the ecclesiastical court; but the heir-loom is due by custom, and not by the common law."—*Coke upon Littleton*, 18 b.

a hot spring, when the low grounds upon a river bank have been recently inundated, is a fever that the good people of Stratford did not well understand at that day. The "merry meeting" rounded off a tradition much more effectively. Whatever was the immediate cause of his last illness, we may well believe that the closing scene was full of tranquillity and hope; and that he who had sought, perhaps more than any man, to look beyond the material and finite things of the world, should rest at the last in the "peace which passeth all understanding"—in that assured belief which the opening of his will has expressed with far more than formal solemnity:—"I commend my soul into the hands of God, my Creator, hoping, and assuredly believing, through the only merits of Jesus Christ, my Saviour, to be made partaker of life everlasting."



VERY little is known concerning the youth of Sir Walter Raleigh. He was a younger son, descended of an ancient family, and was born at a farm called Hayes, near the mouth of the river Otter, in Devonshire, in the year 1552. He went to Oriel College, Oxford, at an early age, and gained high praise for the quickness and precocity of his talents. In 1569 he began his military career in the civil wars of France, as a volunteer in the Protestant cause. It is conjectured that he remained in France for more than six years, and returned to England in 1576. Soon after, he repaired to the Netherlands, and served as a volunteer against the Spaniards. In such schools, and under such leaders as Coligni and the Prince of Orange, Raleigh's natural aptitude for political and military science received the best nurture : but he was soon drawn from the war in Holland by a pursuit which had captivated his imagination from an early age—the prosecution of the discovery in New World. In con-

junction with his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a man of courage and ability, and a skilful sailor, he made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony in North America. Returning home in 1579, he immediately entered the queen's army in Ireland, and served with good esteem for personal courage and professional skill, until the suppression of the rebellion in that country. He owed his introduction to court, and the personal favour of Elizabeth, as is traditionally reported, to a fortunate and well-improved accident, which is too familiar to need repetition here. It is probable, however, that his name and talents were not unknown, for we find him employed almost immediately in certain matters of diplomacy.

Among the cares and pleasures of a courtier's life, Raleigh preserved his zeal for American discovery. He applied his own resources to the fitting out another expedition in 1583, under command of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, which proved more unfortunate than the former one: two out of the vessels returned home in consequence of sickness, and two were wrecked, including that in which the admiral sailed; and the only result of the enterprise was the taking possession of Newfoundland in the name of England. Still Raleigh's desire for American adventure was not damped. The Continent northward of the Gulf of Florida was at this time unknown. But Raleigh, upon careful study of the best authorities, had concluded that there was good reason for believing that a considerable tract of land did exist in that quarter; and with the assent of the queen in council, from whom he obtained letters patent, granting to himself and his heirs, under certain reservations, property in such countries as he should discover, with a right to provide for their protection and administration, he fitted out two ships, which sailed in April, 1584. The first land which they made was an island named Okakoke, running parallel to the coast of North Carolina. They were well received by the natives, and returned to England in the following autumn highly pleased. Nor was less satisfaction felt by Raleigh, or even by the queen, who conferred on him the

honour of knighthood, a title which was then in high esteem, inasmuch as it was bestowed by that wise princess with a most frugal and just discrimination. She also gave him a very lucrative mark of favour, in the shape of a patent for licensing the selling of wine throughout the kingdom ; and she directed that the new country, in allusion to herself, should be called Virginia. Raleigh did not think it politic, perhaps was not allowed, to quit the court to take charge in person of his undertaking ; and those to whom he intrusted the difficult task of directing the infant colony appear to have been unequal to their office. It is not necessary to pursue the history of an enterprise which proved unsuccessful, and in which Sir Walter personally bore no share. He showed his earnestness by fitting out several expeditions, which must have been a heavy drain upon his fortune. But he is said to have derived immense wealth from prizes captured from the Spaniards ; and we may here observe that the lavish magnificence in dress, especially in jewels, for which Raleigh was remarkable, even in the gorgeous court of Elizabeth (his state dress is said to have been enriched with jewels to the value of 60,000*l.*), may be considered less as an extravagance than as a safe and portable investment of treasure. A mind less active might have found employment more than enough in the variety of occupations which pressed upon him at home. He possessed a large estate, granted out of forfeited lands in Ireland ; but this was always a source rather of expense than of profit, until, in 1601, he sold it to the Earl of Cork. He was Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and held the wardenship of the Stannaries ; and in 1586, as well as formerly in 1584, we find that he possessed a seat in parliament. In 1587 the formidable preparation of the Spanish Armada withdrew the mind of Raleigh, as of all Englishmen, from objects of minor importance, to the defence of their country. He was a member of the council of war directed to prepare a general scheme of defence, and held the office of Lieutenant-General of Cornwall, in addition to the charge of the Isle of Portland : but as on this occasion he possessed

no naval command, he was not actively engaged in the destruction of that mighty armament. In 1589 he served as a volunteer in the expedition of Norris and Drake to Portugal, of which some account has been given in the life of the latter. Nor were his labours unrewarded even in that unfortunate enterprise; for he captured several prizes, and received the present of a gold chain from the queen, in testimony of her approbation of his conduct.

Soon after these events, Raleigh retired to his Irish property, being driven from court, according to some authorities, by the enmity of the Earl of Essex, then a young man just rising into favour. He there renewed a former intimacy with the poet Spenser, who, like himself, had been rewarded with a grant of land out of forfeited estates, and then resided at Kilcolman Castle. Spenser has celebrated the return of his friend in the beautiful pastoral 'Colin Clout's come home again;' and in that, and various passages of his works, he has made honourable mention of the highly poetic spirit which enabled the 'Shepherd of the Ocean,' as he is there denominated, to appreciate the merit of the 'Fairy Queen,' and led him to promote the publication of it by every means in his power. The loss of Raleigh's court favour, if such there was, could not have been of long duration on this occasion. But he incurred more serious displeasure in consequence of a private marriage contracted with Elizabeth Throgmorton, one of the queen's maids of honour, a lady of beauty and accomplishments, who proved her worth and fidelity in the long train of misfortunes which beset the latter years of Raleigh's life. In consequence of this intrigue, he was committed to the Tower. One or two amusing anecdotes are related of the devices which he employed to obtain forgiveness, by working on that vanity which was the queen's chief foible. He succeeded in appeasing his indignant mistress so far as to procure his release; and about the same time, in 1594, she granted to him the valuable manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire: but though she requited his services, she still forbade his appearance at court, where he now held the office of captain of the yeomen of the

guard. Raleigh was peculiarly fitted to adorn a court by his imposing person, the graceful magnificence of his taste and habits, the elegance of his manners, and the interest of his conversation. These accomplishments were sure passports to the favour of Elizabeth; and he improved to the utmost the constant opportunities of intercourse with her which his post afforded, insomuch that, except the Earls of Leicester and Essex, no one ever seems to have stood higher in her graces. But Elizabeth's jealousy on the subject of her favourites' marriages is well known, and her anger was lasting, in proportion to the value which she set on the incense of Raleigh's flattery. He retired, on his disgrace, to his new estate, in the improvement and embellishment of which he felt great interest. But though deeply alive to the beauties of nature, he had been too long trained to a life of ambition and adventure to rest contented in the tranquil routine of a country life; and during this period of seclusion, he again turned his thoughts to his favourite subject of American adventure, and laid the scheme of his first expedition to Guiana, in search of the celebrated El Dorado, the fabled seat of inexhaustible wealth. Having fitted out, with the assistance of other private persons, a considerable fleet, Raleigh sailed from Plymouth, February 6, 1595. He left his ships in the mouth of the river Orinoco, and sailed four hundred miles into the interior in boats. It is to be recorded to his honour that he treated the Indians with great kindness; which, contrasted with the savage conduct of the Spaniards, raised so friendly a feeling towards him, that for years his return was eagerly expected, and at length was hailed with delight. The hardships of the undertaking, and the natural advantages of the country which he explored, are eloquently described in his own account of the 'Discovery of Guiana.' But the setting in of the rainy season rendered it necessary to return, without having reached the promised land of wealth; and Raleigh reaped no other fruit of his adventure than a certain quantity of geographical knowledge, and a full conviction of the importance of colonising and taking possession

of the newly-discovered region. This continued through life to be his favourite scheme; but neither Elizabeth nor her successor could be induced to view it in the same favourable light.

On reaching England, he found the queen still unappeased; nor was he suffered to appear at court, and he complains in pathetic terms of the cold return with which his perils and losses were requited. But he was invested with a high command in the expedition of 1596, by which the Spanish fleet was destroyed in the harbour of Cadiz; and to his judgment and temper in overruling the faulty schemes proposed by others the success of that enterprise was chiefly due. Indeed his services were perhaps too important, and too justly appreciated by the public, for his own interests; for the great and general praise bestowed on him on this occasion tended to confirm a jealousy of long standing on the part of the commander-in-chief, the Earl of Essex; and it was probably owing to that favourite's influence that Raleigh was still forbidden the queen's presence. Essex, and the secretary of state, Sir Robert Cecil, regarded each other with mutual distrust and dislike. Cecil and Raleigh were connected by ties of common interest, and, as the latter supposed, of friendship. Still Raleigh found the interest of the minister too weak to serve his purpose, while the interest of the favourite was employed against him; and, as the only method of effecting his own restoration to the queen's favour, he undertook to work a reconciliation between these two powerful rivals. In this he succeeded, to the great admiration of all spectators; and the fruit of his policy was seen in his readmission to the execution of his official duties at court, June 1, 1597. In the following August he was appointed Rear-Admiral in the expedition called the Island Voyage, of which Essex held the chief command. The slight successes which were obtained were again due to the military talents of Raleigh; the main objects of the voyage were lost through the earl's inexperience.

From this time to the death of the queen Raleigh enjoyed an uninterrupted course of favour. The ancient

enmity between Essex and himself was indeed renewed, and that with increased rancour ; but the indiscretions of the favourite had greatly weakened his influence. Raleigh and Cecil spared no pains to undermine him, and were in fact the chief workers of his ruin. This is perhaps the most unamiable passage in Raleigh's life ; and the only excuse to be pleaded for him is, the determined enmity of that unfortunate nobleman. This fault, however, brought a slow but severe punishment with it ; for the death of Essex dissolved the tie which held together Cecil and himself. Neither could be content to act second to the other ; and Raleigh's high reputation, and versatile as well as profound abilities, might well alarm the secretary for his own supremacy. The latter took the surest way of establishing his power prospectively. Elizabeth was now old : Cecil took no steps to diminish the high esteem in which she held Sir Walter Raleigh, but he secretly laboured to prejudice her successor against him, and he succeeded to his wish. Very soon after the accession of James I., Raleigh's post of captain of the guard was taken from him ; and his patent of wines was revoked, though not without a nominal compensation being made. To complete his ruin, it was contrived to involve him in a charge of treason. Most writers have concurred in speaking of this passage of history as inexplicable : it is the opinion of the last historian of Raleigh, Mr. Tytler, that he has found sufficient evidence for regarding the whole plot as a device of Cecil's, and he has supported this opinion by cogent arguments. Lord Cobham, a violent and ambitious but weak man, had engaged in private dealings with the Spanish ambassador, which brought him under the suspicion of the government. By a device of Cecil's (we here follow the account of Mr. Tytler) he was induced, in a fit of anger, and in the belief that Raleigh had given information against him, to accuse Sir Walter himself of being privy to a conspiracy against the government. This charge Cobham retracted, confirmed, and retracted again, behaving in so equivocal a manner, that no reliance whatever can be placed on any of his assertions. But as the

king was afraid of Raleigh as much as the secretary hated him, this vague charge, unsupported by other evidence, was made sufficient to commit him to the Tower ; and, after being plied with private examinations, in which nothing criminal could be elicited, he was brought to trial, November 17, 1603. For an account of that memorable scene we shall refer to Mr. Jardine's ' Criminal Trials,' vol. i. It is reported to have been said by one of the judges who presided over it, on his death-bed, that " the justice of England had never been so degraded and injured as by the condemnation of Sir Walter Raleigh." The behaviour of the victim himself was the object of universal admiration, for the tempered mixture of patience and noble spirit with which he bore the oppressive measure dealt to him. He had before been unpopular ; but it was recorded by an eye-witness that " he behaved himself so worthily, so wisely, and so temperately, that in half a day the mind of all the company was changed from the extremest hate to the extremest pity."

The sentence of death thus unfairly and disgracefully obtained was not immediately carried into execution. James was not satisfied with the evidence adduced on the trial ; and believing at the same time that Raleigh had been plotting against him, he set his royal wit to dive into the mystery. Of the singular scene which our British Solomon devised it is not necessary to speak, since Raleigh was not an actor in it. But as no more evidence could be obtained against him even by the king's sagacity, he was reprieved, and remanded to the Tower, where the next twelve years of his life were spent in confinement. Fortunately, he had never ceased to cultivate literature with a zeal not often found in the soldier and politician, and he now beguiled the tedium of his lot by an entire devotion to those studies which before had only served to diversify his more active and engrossing pursuits. Of his poetical talents we have already made short mention : to the end of life he continued the practice of pouring out his mind in verse, and there are several well-known and beautiful pieces expressive of his

feelings in prison, and in the anticipation of immediate death, especially 'The Lie,' and the beautiful little poem called 'The Pilgrimage.' He also possessed a strong turn for mathematics, and studied them with much success in the society and under the guidance of his friend Thomas Hariot, one of the most accomplished mathematicians of the age. Chemistry was another favourite pursuit, in which, according to the standard of his contemporaries, he made great progress. But the most important occupation of his imprisonment was the composition of his 'History of the World.' Notwithstanding the quaintness of the style and the discursive manner in which the subject is treated, it is impossible to read this volume without admiring the wonderful extent of the author's reading, not only in history, but in philosophy, theology, and even the ponderous and untempting stores of Rabbinical learning. Many of the chapters relate to subjects which few persons would expect to find in a history of the world; yet these will often be found among the most interesting and characteristic portions of the book; and its deep learning is relieved and set off by passages of genuine eloquence, which display to the best advantage the author's rich imagination and grasp of mind. The work extends from the Creation to the end of the second Macedonian war. Raleigh meant to bring it down to modern times; but the untimely death of Henry, Prince of Wales, for whose use it was composed, deprived him of the spirit to proceed with so laborious an undertaking. He enjoyed the confidence of that generous youth in a remarkable degree, and maintained a close correspondence with him on civil, military, and naval subjects. Several discourses on these topics, addressed to the prince, will be found in the editions of Raleigh's works. Henry repaid these services with sincere friendship and admiration; and we may presume that his adviser looked forward to that friendship, not only for a cessation of misfortune, but for a more brilliant period of favour and power than he had yet enjoyed. Fortunately, however, this calamity was preceded by the death of his arch-enemy, Cecil; and

through the mediation of the Duke of Buckingham, employed in consideration of 1500*l.* paid to his uncles, Sir William, Sir John, and Sir Edward Villiers, Raleigh was released from the Tower, in March, 1615; and obtained permission to follow up his long-cherished scheme of establishing a colony in Guiana and working a gold-mine, of which he had ascertained the existence and situation.

The terms on which this licence was granted are remarkable. He was not pardoned, but merely let loose on the engagement of his friends, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, that he should return to England. Neither did James contribute to the expense of the undertaking, though it was stipulated that he was to receive a fifth part of the bullion imported. The necessary funds were provided out of the wreck of Raleigh's fortune (his estate of Sherborne had been forfeited), and by those private adventurers who were willing to risk something in reliance on his experience and judgment. A fleet of fourteen sail was thus provided, and Raleigh, by letters under the privy seal, was appointed commander-in-chief and governor of the intended colony. He relied, it is said, on the full powers granted him by this commission as necessarily including a remission of all past offences, and therefore neglected to sue out a formal pardon, which at this period probably would hardly have been denied him. The results of this disastrous voyage must be shortly given. Raleigh sailed March 28, 1617, and reached the coast of Guiana in November following. Being himself disabled by sickness from proceeding farther, he dispatched a party to the mine under the command of Captain Keymis, an officer who had served in the former voyage to Guiana. But during the interval which had elapsed since Raleigh's first discovery of that country, the Spaniards had extended their settlements into it, and in particular had built a town called Santa Thome, in the immediate neighbourhood of the mine in question. James, with his usual duplicity, while he authorised the expedition, revealed every particular connected with it to the Spanish ambassador. The English,

therefore, were expected in the Orinoco, and preparation had been made for repelling them by force. Keymis and his men were unexpectedly attacked by the garrison of Santa Thome, and a sharp contest ensued, in which the English gained the advantage, and burnt the town. In this action Raleigh's eldest son was killed. The Spaniards still occupied the passes to the mine, and after an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge them, Keymis abandoned the enterprise, and returned to the ships. Raleigh's correspondence expresses in affecting terms his grief and indignation at this double misfortune; the loss of a brave and promising son, and the destruction of the hopes which he had founded on this long-cherished adventure. On his return to England, he found himself marked out for a victim to appease the resentment of the Spanish court, to which he had long been an object of fear and hatred. He quietly surrendered himself to Sir Lewis Stewkeley, who was sent to Plymouth to arrest him, and commenced the journey to London under his charge. But his mind fluctuated between the desire to confront his enemies, and a sense of the hopelessness of obtaining justice; and he was at last entrapped by the artifices of the emissaries of government who surrounded him into an attempt to escape, in which he was arrested and committed to close custody in the Tower. Here his conversation and correspondence were narrowly watched, in the hopes that a treasonable understanding with the French government, from which he had received the offer of an asylum in France, might be established against him. His conduct abroad had already been closely scrutinised, in the hope of finding some act of piracy, or unauthorised aggression against Spain, for which he might be brought to trial. Both these hopes failing, and his death, in compliment to Spain, being resolved on, it was determined to carry into effect the sentence passed fifteen years before, from which he had never been legally released; and a warrant was accordingly issued to the judges, requiring them to order execution. The case was a novel one, and threw that learned body into some perplexity. They determined, however,

that after so long an interval execution could not be granted without allowing the prisoner the opportunity of pleading against it; and Raleigh was therefore brought to the bar of the Court of King's Bench, October 28, 1618. The record of his conviction having been read, he was asked whether he could urge anything why the sentence should not be carried into effect. He insisted on the nature of his late commission, and on that plea being overruled, submitted with his usual calmness and dignity. The execution, with indecent haste, was ordered to take place on the following morning. In this last stage of life, his greatness of mind shone with even more than its usual lustre. Calm, and fearless without bravado, his behaviour and speech expressed the piety and resignation of a Christian, with the habitual coolness of one who has braved death too often to shrink at its approach. The accounts of his deportment on the scaffold effectually refute the charges of irreligion and atheism, which some writers have brought against him, unless we make up our minds to believe him an accomplished hypocrite. He spoke at considerable length, and his dying words have been faithfully reported. They contain a denial of all the serious offences laid to his charge, and express his forgiveness of those even who had betrayed him under the mask of friendship. After delivering this address, and spending some time in prayer, he laid his head on the block, and breathing a short private prayer, gave the signal to the executioner. Not being immediately obeyed, he partially raised his head, and said, "What dost thou fear? Strike, man!" and underwent the fatal blow without shrinking or alteration of position. He died in his sixty-sixth year.

Raleigh sat in several parliaments, and took an active part in the business of the house. His speeches, preserved in the Journals, are said by Mr. Tytler to be remarkable for an originality and freedom of thought far in advance of the time. His expression was varied and animated, and his powers of conversation remarkable. His person was dignified and handsome, and he excelled in bodily accomplishments and martial exercises. He

was very fond of paintings, and of music ; and, in literature as in art, he possessed a cultivated and correct taste. He was one of those rare men who seem qualified to excel in all pursuits alike ; and his talents were set off by an extraordinary laboriousness and capacity of application. As a navigator, soldier, statesman, and historian, his name is intimately and honourably linked with one of the most brilliant periods of British history.

The works of Oldys, Birch, Cayley, Mrs. Thompson, and Mr. Tytler, may be consulted concerning this remarkable person. The Life by the last-named gentleman, published in the 'Edinburgh Cabinet Library,' is the most recent ; and the industry of the author has enabled him to gain a clue to some points which before had been imperfectly understood. A list of Raleigh's numerous works is given in the 'Biographia Britannica.' They will be found collected in eight volumes, in the Oxford edition of 1829. Several of his MSS. are preserved in the British Museum.



THERE is no life the chronological course of which is more distinctly known than that of Camden ; but it is the life merely of a student and a man of letters, consisting mostly in the history of his publications, and affording scarcely any anecdotal matter. Nor did he take part in any of the public transactions of his time, except only as an observer and recorder. It thus happens that in a case in which the materials of biography are unusually ample and satisfactory, the biography itself must still be but dry and meagre. Everything can be told, but there is not much of general interest to tell.

William Camden was a Londoner born. His birth took place on the 2nd of May, 1551, in the Old Bailey, at the house of his father, Samson Camden, who was a member of the Company of Painter-Stainers. This company, according to Maitland, the historian of London, still use every Saint Luke's Day, at the election of the master, a silver cup and cover which was given to

them by the great antiquary, as is recorded upon it in a Latin inscription, in which he styles himself "Gul. Camdenus, Clarenceux, filius Samsonis, Pictoris, Londinensis" (William Camden, Clarenceux, son of Samson, painter, of London); the old master drinks out of it to the new one. It appears from Camden's will that he bequeathed the company sixteen pounds to buy them a piece of plate, upon which he directed the above inscription to be engraved. Gibson says that he left them a gilt bowl of sixteen pounds; but this would be a somewhat inconvenient weight for a drinking-cup. Camden's father was a Staffordshire man, having been born in Lichfield, whence he was sent, when very young, to London. His mother's family he has himself commemorated in his *Britannia*, where, in noticing the town of Wirkinton, or Workington, in Cumberland, he says (in Bishop Gibson's English translation), "It is now the seat of the ancient knightly family of the Curwens, descended from Gospatric, Earl of Northumberland, who took that name, by covenant, from Culwen, a family of Galloway, the heir whereof they had married. Here they have a stately castle-like seat; and from this family (excuse the vanity) I myself am descended by the mother's side."

He is said, in more than one of the earlier accounts of him, to have been for some time one of the Blue-coat boys. The school of Christ's Hospital was established by King Edward VI. the year after Camden came into the world; but the records perished in the great fire of 1666; and it is now impossible to ascertain what truth there may be in the statement that he was a scholar there. He says nothing to that effect himself in a paper of brief memoranda of his boyhood which he left behind him. But he there notes that at twelve years of age he was attacked by the plague, upon which he was sent for country air to Islington; and that when he recovered, and returned home, he was put to St. Paul's School.

From St. Paul's he proceeded to the University of Oxford, where he was entered a servitor at Magdalen College, in 1566. Missing the place of what is called a demy in that college (a scholar or half-fellow), he re-

moved to Broadgate Hall, now Pembroke College ; and here he remained two years and a half. It is said that formerly, and perhaps still, the graces used at Pembroke College were composed by Camden when he was a member of that society. Thence, after a time, he transferred himself to Christ Church ; and it appears to have been while he was here that he stood candidate for a fellowship in All Souls, which, in a letter written many years after to Archbishop Usher, he affirms that he lost by the opposition of the Popish faction, then predominant in the University, for his known attachment to the established religion. It was perhaps on the same account that, when in 1570 he petitioned the Congregation of Regents to be admitted Bachelor of Arts, his petition was refused. His teachers at Oxford to whom he is stated to have been most indebted were, first, the learned Dr. Thomas Cooper, author of the Latin Thesaurus, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and then of Winchester, who, when Camden came up to the university, was master of the grammar-school attached to Magdalen College ; and afterwards Dr. Thomas Thornton, through whom it was that he was removed to Broadgate Hall, and who, when he was afterwards promoted to a canonry in Christ Church, carried Camden with him, and gave him accommodation in his own lodgings. Camden has made mention of his having been a student of Christ Church in his *Britannia*, where, describing the ruined castle of Wallingford, he writes :—“ We much wondered at its greatness and magnificence when we were boys, and retired thither from Oxford (for it was a retiring-place for the students of Christ Church).”

Bishop Gibson's account is, that “ after five years spent in the University, and two remarkable disappointments in his endeavours to settle himself there, his circumstances put him under a necessity of leaving that place.” Upon this he came to London, in the year 1571. He has himself stated in one of his tracts that, after leaving the University, carried by his antiquarian zeal, which had already taken possession of him while at Oxford, he went about and surveyed a considerable part of England with his

own eyes; and it is not known in what other way he was employed for the next four or five years. Ever from the time he began to turn his mind to any sort of study, the investigation of antiquities, he tells us, had been his chief delight; to this, he says, I was by I know not what natural inclination wholly given; thither nature drew me whether I would or no; so that when I was a boy at school whatever seemed to look in that direction caught my instant and eager attention; and, when a young man at the University, whenever the regular business of the place left me an unoccupied moment, to that pursuit I applied all my thoughts and every power of my mind.

This inclination, and the talents which he had shown, had already before he left Oxford procured him several friends well able to advance him in the world. Among his acquaintance at the University who were united to him by their common love of antiquities were the two brothers, Richard and George Carew, the former the author of the Survey of Cornwall, the latter afterwards Earl of Totness. Another of his patrons at this time was the all-accomplished Sir Philip Sidney. But the persons to whom he was most indebted appear to have been Dr. Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, and Godfrey Goodman, either the brother or the nephew of the Dean. He has mentioned the Dean in his *Britannia* as having been a particular patron both to himself and to his studies; and according to Anthony Wood, who professes to write on the authority of a manuscript in the Bodleian Library written by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, the son of the Dean's nephew, the latter both supplied him with books and defrayed the expense of his journeys, which would seem to have been for some years nearly the whole expense of his living. It was probably by the advice or invitation of the Goodmans that he came to London.

In 1573 he again applied for his degree of Bachelor of Arts; and he seems now to have obtained it, although he never went through the form of what is called completing it by determinations. Nevertheless, we find

him some years afterwards describing himself as in full possession of the degree. Meanwhile, the patronage of Dean Goodman procured him in 1575 the place of second master of Westminster School; and in this situation he remained for seventeen or eighteen years. He discharged his duties as a teacher with great diligence and ability; and he performed one important literary service in connexion with his office by the preparation of a compendium of Greek Grammar (*'Grammatices Graecae Institutio Compendiaria'*), which, however, was not published till 1597. This was long the common Grammar of the Greek language used in all the schools of England, as Lilly's was the Latin Grammar. It is said, however, to be in the main only an abridgment, although with many improvements, of a Grammar compiled by Dr. Edward Grant, who was head master of Westminster School while Camden was second master. Grant lived till September or October, 1601; but he resigned the school in February, 1593, and Camden then succeeded him as head master. In this new position he continued to be connected with Westminster School for five years longer.

All this while, however, his reputation as a master of British antiquities had been growing and spreading, not only in his own country, but over all Europe. He has himself told us, in the same Latin tract from which we have already translated some of his statements about his early addictedness to the study of antiquities, that, when he found himself engaged in the laborious duties of a teacher, he endeavoured to withdraw his mind from its favourite pursuit, but could not. His old inclination could not be subdued; whenever he had a holiday, it was given to his former inquiries, and his vacations were usually spent in visiting one distant part of the island or another in quest of antiquarian information. Thus, it appears from his own brief memoranda that in 1582 he made a journey into Yorkshire, going down by the east coast and returning through Lancashire; that in 1589 he was in Devonshire; and that the next year he went to Wales, in company with his friend the learned Dr. Francis Godwin, afterwards Bishop, first of

Llandaff and then of Hereford, and the author of the Catalogue of English Bishops. In 1594, again, we find him making an excursion to Salisbury and Wells, and returning by Oxford; and in 1596 travelling northward as far as to Carlisle, accompanied by his friend Sir Robert Cotton. Even before the publication of his great work his name had become so eminent that learned foreigners who visited England were wont to seek his acquaintance, and others entered into correspondence with him. Thus Abraham Ortelius, the great restorer of geography, as Camden terms him, is stated to have come over from the Low Countries to consult him as the chief oracle that he could apply to on the subject of British history; and, according to his own account, it was mainly by the persuasion of Ortelius that he was induced to think of digesting his antiquarian and topographical collections into a complete account of his native country. Another of his foreign friends was the learned President Brisson, of the Parlement of Paris, who made his acquaintance when he was here in 1581. His correspondence with the illustrious De Thou commenced at a later date.

His great work, the *Britannia*, appeared at last, in Latin, in a small square octavo, in 1586. The original title is, at full length, '*Britannia, sive florentissimorum Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et Insularum adjacentium, ex intima antiquitate, Chorographica Descriptio*' (that is, Britain, or a Chorographical Description of the most flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the adjacent Islands, from the remotest antiquity). From a pocket volume Camden's *Britannia* has grown in the latest English edition into four huge folios; but, while much has in this way been added to the fulness of its details, and also something to its accuracy, the original character of the work has been altogether changed or disguised. It is now a vast repository of every thing which its successive editors have been able to collect connected with its subject, and which they could contrive to fasten in any way upon the original text. As it came from the hands of its author, the *Britannia* was a work of art, prepared with all the

attention to selection, economy, and finish which that character implies. It was apparently designed by Camden for foreign readers more than for his own countrymen; and therefore he only inserted in it what was likely to be universally interesting, or to be deemed worthy of attention by all scholars in every country whom the subject might attract. He certainly never intended it for a complete dictionary or cyclopædia of British topography and antiquities, or for anything in the nature of such a compilation. What he aimed at was the production of a classic work, in which the manner should go for as much as the matter. The *Britannia* may for many purposes be a more useful book in its present form than it was as Camden left it; but it has no longer any pretensions to be what it was his ambition to make it. Persons, accordingly, who take their notions of Camden from either Gough's or Gibson's English '*Britannia*,' are apt to miss the very thing which principally distinguishes him among and sets him at the head of all our English antiquaries. In felicity of style, indeed, rising at times to eloquence and poetic fancy, his predecessor Leland surpasses him; but Leland, with all his learning and industry, has produced no work so carefully elaborated throughout as the *Britannia*; neither, perhaps, is his judgment equal to his taste and scholarship. In the combination of elegance, accuracy, and sagacity, Camden stands unrivalled. He is absolutely without any of the besetting sins or weaknesses of the common tribe of antiquaries; he is never either prosy, or frivolous, or crotchety, but always looks at his subject from the point which affords the largest view of it, as well as with a remarkably clear and searching eye. He is commonly designated the learned Camden; and he was eminently learned, not only among antiquaries, but among scholars; but the qualities in which he was pre-eminent were acuteness and good sense. We would style him the sagacious Camden. He is not only always up to the highest intelligence of his time, but frequently beyond it. His conclusions and conjectures have occasionally that something of the prophetic which more or less marks

the speculations of every foremost thinker, and which it sometimes requires the lapse of centuries to verify.

Even under the eye and in the hands of the author, however, the *Britannia* in the course of successive editions considerably outgrew its original dimensions. The number of re-impressions of the work that were called for in Camden's lifetime strikingly attests the estimation in which it was held. A second edition of it appeared at London, in 1587; a third, in 1590; a fourth (the first in 4to.), in 1594; a fifth, in 1600; a sixth (in folio), in 1607; besides two Frankfort editions, both exact copies of the third London edition, in 1590 and in 1616; and an epitome of the 1607 edition at Amsterdam in 1617. The first edition of Philemon Holland's English translation of it was also brought out (in folio) in 1610, most probably under Camden's sanction. "When Mr. Camden published the last edition of his *Britannia*," says Bishop Gibson, "the book met with so much applause and commendation from the learned, that they knew no title great enough for the author. He was styled the Varro, the Strabo, and the Pausanias of Britain; and his work universally owned to be the most complete and accurate in its kind that had appeared in any nation."

In February 1589, Camden had been presented by his friend Dr. John Piers, then Bishop of Salisbury, to the prebend of Ilfarcomb, Ilfarcomb, or Ilfordcome (on the north coast of Devonshire), a preferment which could then be held by laymen; and in 1593, as we have mentioned, he had succeeded to the head mastership of Westminster school, on the resignation of Dr. Grant. In a letter written in his old age to Archbishop Usher, he takes credit to himself for the number of distinguished persons who had been there trained by him in the light of the true religion. "God," he says, "so blessed my labours, that the now Bishops of London [King], Durham [Neal], and St. Asaph [Parry], to say nothing of persons employed now in eminent places abroad, and many of especial note at home, of all degrees, do acknowledge themselves to have been my scholars. Yea, I brought

there to church divers gentlemen of Ireland, as Walshes, Nugents, O'Railey, Shees, the eldest son of the Archbishop of Casiles [Cashell], Peter Lombard, a merchant's son of Waterford, a youth of admirable docility, and others bred popishly and so affected."

His friends, however, naturally desired to see him placed in a situation of less labour, and where he would have more leisure for the studies by which he was most of all men qualified to benefit the world. It appears that he had been at one time offered, it is supposed by Burghley, the place of a master in the now abolished Court of Requests, but had refused it. In September, 1598, however, on the death of Richard Leigh, Clarenceux King of Arms, Sir Fulk Grevil, who was an intimate friend of Camden's, asked the office for him from the queen, and at once obtained it; he was made Richmond Herald on the 22nd of October, and Clarenceux King on the 23rd. "I know not," he says in his letter to Usher, "who may justly say that I was ambitious, who contented myself in Westminster School when I writ my Britannia and eleven years afterwards, who refused a Mastership of Requests offered, and then had the place of a King of Arms without any suit cast upon me. I did never set sail after present preferments, or desired to soar higher by others. I never made suit to any man—no, not to his majesty, but for a matter of course incident to my place; neither (God be praised) I needed, having gathered a contented sufficiency by my long labours in the school." As for his promotion to his office in the College of Heralds, Gibson states, that "till the whole business was over he did not so much as think of the thing, but the news of his success was a surprise to him. And when the Lord Burghley, who was his great patron, expressed his dissatisfaction that he had not applied to him upon that occasion, he returned this answer, that it was purely a thought of Sir Fulk Grevil, without so much as his knowledge."

There was one person, nevertheless, to whom Camden's promotion seemed the very reverse of a fit or proper appointment. This was Mr. Rafe Brookesmouth,

who had changed the name he was born with to what he deemed the more modish form of Brooke; and who holding the office of York Herald in the College of Arms, together with a great conceit of his own superior knowledge in his art or profession, most probably thought that he ought to have himself succeeded to the place of Clarenceux King. It has been sufficiently shown, however, by the writer of the life of Camden in the *Biographia Britannica*, that it was not the appointment of Camden over his head, as has been commonly assumed, that first excited Brooke's hostility, although it may have been afterwards exasperated by that circumstance. It appears that his attention was first attracted to the heraldic and genealogical errors, as he conceived them to be, of the *Britannia*, after the publication of the fourth edition in 1594, in which the notices of the descents of families were greatly extended. According to his own account, he first got some persons of good credit and learning to advertise Camden in a friendly manner of the mistakes he had made: "to whom," says Brooke, "his answer was, that he could not correct any of them for discrediting his whole work, as though mending the sores would have maimed the body." Without taking this to be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, it may be received as proving (unless we are to set it aside as altogether a fabrication) that Brooke's quarrel with the *Britannia* had originally nothing to do with any disappointment he may have felt at its author's promotion. "Secondly," his account proceeds, "in private, when I heard his addressment to a fifth impression, I myself dealt with him for the amendment of some slips in his *Britannia*, of the same kind, promising him the use of my own observations and collections, which, as proffered wares, fastidiously he rejected, not accounting them worthy his thanks or acceptation, contrary to the advice of the sober learned, who are content to hear the conceit of a mean friend sometimes, and respect the offer although but a blind man should point out the way. The rat is not so contemptible but she may help the lion at a pinch out of

those nets wherein his strength is hampered; and the words of an inferior may often carry matter in them to admonish his superior of some important consideration. And surely, of what account soever I might have seemed to this learned man, yet in regard of my profession and courteous offer (I being an ancient officer of arms, and he then but a schoolmaster), [he] might well have vouchsafed the perusal of my notes." It is evident enough that this Brooke was an illiterate low-minded fellow, with whom Camden wanted to have nothing to do. Whether he might have ever published his attack if Camden had not been raised to the office which he thought he himself ought to have had may be doubted. But at last in 1599 he came out with it in the shape of a book (without licence, Gibson says, or name of either printer or bookseller), bearing the title of 'A Discovery of certain Errors published in print in the much commended Britannia.' It was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, the head of the interest opposed to Burghley, who was Camden's patron. The fifth edition of the *Britannia*, which was published the next year, was probably already on its way through the press when Brooke's tract made its appearance. The answer Camden made to his assailant was contained in a short explanation, addressed *Ad Lectorem* (To the Reader), and in which Brooke's name was never mentioned, inserted at the end. It is in this paper that he gives the account of his early love of the study of antiquities, which we have extracted in a previous page, and states that he was moved to draw out the first scheme of his *Britannia* by the earnest exhortation of Abraham Ortelius. As for his vindication of himself from Brooke's charges, it must be admitted to have been perfectly satisfactory. He showed that in regard to most of the matters in dispute he was right and his critic wrong; although he acknowledged that he had fallen into a few mistakes from trusting to one whom he might well have taken for a sufficient authority, a predecessor of his own in the office of Clarenceux King of Arms. Brooke, however, returned to the charge, in so far at least as to draw up a rejoinder to Camden's defence; but he never sent it

to the press, and it remained in MS. till the year 1723, when it was published by Anstis, the learned Garter King of Arms. It is entitled 'A Second Discovery of Errors published in the much commended Britannia, 1594, very prejudicial to the descents and successions of the ancient nobility of this realm; with a reply to Mr. Camden's apology *Ad Lectorem*, in his fifth edition, 1600.'

In 1588 Camden had supplicated the Convocation of Regents at Oxford to be allowed to proceed Master of Arts without reading the usual three lectures; and his prayer was complied with, on condition that he stood in the following act; but this, it appears, circumstances did not allow him to do. Many years after, in 1613, when he attended the funeral of Sir Thomas Bodley, the degree was offered him by the University; but whether he accepted or declined it is not known.

In 1600 he published, in small quarto, a short account of the monuments and inscriptions in Westminster Abbey, which was reprinted, with corrections and enlargements, in 1603, and again in 1606. In 1603 appeared, in a folio volume, at Frankfort, his collection of English, Norman, Irish, and Welsh Latin chroniclers ('Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a Veteribus Scripta'), containing Asser, Walsingham, Gemiticensis, Giraldus Cambrensis, &c., mostly now published for the first time from manuscripts in his own library. It is still a volume of great value, and when it first appeared it made a vast addition to the previously accessible sources of information on our early history. This was followed in 1605 by the well-known little work commonly called his 'Remains,' but the full title of which in the original edition is, 'Remains of a greater work concerning Britain, the Inhabitants thereof, their Languages, Names, Surnames, Impresses, Wise Speeches, Poesies, and Epitaphs.' It consists in fact of the matter which remained unused of the collections he had made for the Britannia, after he had completed that work. It contains many curious things, and has always been popular. The first edition was in 4to.: a seventh, in 8vo., professing to be "much amended, with many rare

antiquities never before imprinted, by the industry and care of John Philipot, Somerset Herald, and W. D. Gent." appeared in 1674.*

The latter years of his life were principally dedicated to the composition of what is, after the *Britannia*, his greatest performance, his Latin Annals of the reign of Elizabeth (*Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Regnante Elizabetha*), the first part of which, coming down to the year 1589, was published in folio at London, in 1615, and in 8vo. at Frankfort the following year. The second part, though completed by the year 1617, he withheld from the press during his lifetime; and it was first printed in 8vo. at London in 1625. An English translation of the entire work is inserted by Kennet in his *Complete History*. Camden began his Annals of the Reign of Elizabeth in 1597, at the instigation of Lord Burghley, whose view was, that the history should be a monument to the fame of his royal mistress, and probably little else than a panegyric from beginning to end; but the changed circumstances in which it was written and published prevented the finished performance from turning out exactly conformable to the original design or conception. It is in fact such a his-

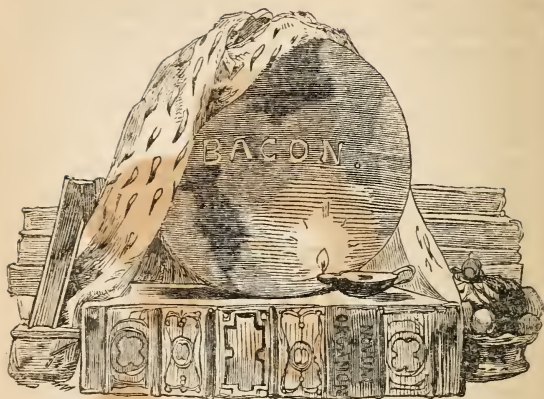
* There has been some difference of statement as to the year in which the *Remains* was first published. The Dedication, to Sir Robert Cotton, is dated the 12th of June, 1603, and Dr. Smith, Camden's earliest biographer, says the book was published in 1604. The date on the title-page, however, is 1605. But it probably appeared early in that year; as may be gathered from the mention of it as a book upon which he had "lighted of late," in a letter of Richard Carew, the historian of Cornwall, dated 8th April, 1605, which is inserted among the 'Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries; with Notes and Illustrations by Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.,' 4to. Lond. Printed for the Camden Society, 1843, pp. 98-100. In the Index Carew's letter is erroneously entered as relating to a "book dedicated to" Camden. The *Remains* was an anonymous publication; and the Dedication was subscribed only with the final letters of Camden's Christian and surname.

tory of the reign of Elizabeth as might be expected to be produced by a court writer in the reign of her successor. The work was submitted, before being published, to the perusal of King James; and of course it could contain nothing that would give offence to his majesty. In particular, the story of his mother could be told only in one way. It was at one time supposed that the work had been in many parts altered and interpolated by the royal order or pen; but for that notion there seems to be no good ground. The standard edition, published by Hearne in 1717 from a manuscript corrected by Camden himself, exhibits no variations which favour any such conclusion. We are bound then to believe that, if the work was biassed by the time and circumstances in which it was prepared, so were the actual opinions of the writer. In his Preface, while he speaks with little satisfaction of its execution, he asserts the integrity and good faith with which it had been compiled in solemn terms. "Whatever it be," are his concluding words, "I dedicate and consecrate it at the altar of truth to God, to my country, and to posterity." Selden has pronounced Bacon's History of Henry VII. and Camden's Annals to be the only two historical works relating to English affairs worthy of their subject; but Camden's performance cannot claim a place in that shortest of all literary catalogues, the catalogue of great historical works. Its chief merit is distinctness of statement. As a piece of writing, it is probably at least equal to the Britannia; but then something of higher art is looked for in a history than in a topographical description. Even its value as a record of facts is not very great. It does not contain very much that is not to be found elsewhere; and a large mass of information respecting the events of Elizabeth's reign is now before the public, which was inaccessible and unknown when Camden wrote.

The summers of the last years of his life Camden spent mostly at Chiselhurst in Kent; and it was here that he was attacked with his last illness, in the autumn of 1623. On the 18th of August, as he sat in his chair,

absorbed in thought, he suddenly lost his muscular power, and fell from his seat on the floor; he did not, however, injure himself; and he soon so far recovered his strength as to get again upon his feet. He has himself noted the incident among the last of the entries in the Diary which he kept during the reign of James, and from which Kennet has abstracted and translated what he calls his Annals of that reign. A severe illness, however, followed, which carried him off on the 9th of November. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, in the south aisle, near to the place where his monument may still be seen. The attendance at his funeral was very splendid, comprising not only all the College of Heralds, but a great number of the nobility and other distinguished persons. The greater part of his savings he had set aside the year before his death to found a Professorship of History in the University of Oxford. The rest he left mostly in small legacies and remembrances to his relations and friends. Among the former his will, made on his last birthday, mentions his cousin John Wyat, painter, of London, and Mr. Camden, of London, silkman, of whom the former has a legacy of a hundred, the latter one of ten pounds. Besides the sixteen pounds to the painter-stainers, he also left twelve pounds to the company of cordwainers, or shoemakers, to purchase them a piece of plate, on which he directed the same inscription to be engraved as on that to be purchased by the painters. His printed books and manuscripts he bequeathed to Sir Robert Cotton, except such as related to arms and heraldry, which he directed that his successor in the office of Clarenceux should have upon certain conditions. "But," according to Bishop Gibson, "upon the erection of a new library in the church of Westminster, the printed part was removed thither by the procurement of Dr. John Williams, Lord Keeper of England, Bishop of Lincoln, and dean of that church; who laid hold of an expression in the will that was capable of a double meaning." A number of tracts and papers written by Camden, together with his Life and a collection of his letters, was published by Dr. Thomas

Smith in 1691 ; and other letters from him and to him are to be found in various publications. His name, which has been sung by Spenser, and of which his works are an enduring monument, has lately been brought into additional celebrity by the novel and successful experiment of the Camden Society.



FRANCIS BACON was the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and was born at York House in the Strand, on the 22nd of January, 1561. In boyhood he was sprightly and intelligent beyond his years. The queen, who was taken with the smartness of his answers, used to try him with questions on various subjects; and it is said, that once when she asked him how old he was, his reply was ingeniously complimentary:—"I am just two years younger than your Majesty's happy reign." Elizabeth expressed her approbation by calling the boy "her young lord keeper." Nothing is known of his early education. Having, however, parents of a superior order—a father distinguished as a lawyer and a statesman, and a mother gifted with uncommon abilities, and eminent for her learning and piety, Bacon was placed favourably, from the first, for the formation of a learned and virtuous character.

In his thirteenth year he was sent to Trinity College,

Cambridge, and was placed under the tuition of Dr. Whitgift, at that time master of the college, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Here Bacon studied with diligence and success. The following fact, connected with his residence at college, has been thus stated and authenticated by Dr. Rawley, his chaplain and biographer:—"Whilst he was commorant at the University, about sixteen years of age (as his lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself), he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle. Not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way—being a philosophy (as his lordship used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the life of man. In which mind he continued to his dying day.

On leaving Cambridge, he entered Gray's Inn as a student of law. It is likely that his admission was in Michaelmas term, since it appears, from the records of the Inn, that he was made an antient on the 21st of November, 1576—an honour usually conferred on barristers, but bestowed on the sons of judges in consequence of their birth. His attendance in London not being required for some years, by the regulations of his inn, Bacon was sent, in compliance with a custom at the time common among the nobility, to study the institutions and manners of other countries. He went accordingly in the suite of Sir Amias Paulet, the British ambassador to the court of France. His superior sagacity and discretion soon induced the ambassador to intrust him with a message of some delicacy and importance to the queen; a commission which Bacon executed so as to obtain the royal approbation. On his return to Paris, he made frequent excursions into the country, spent some time in Poitiers, and busied himself in collecting information on the characters and resources of the different princes of Europe. His work *Of the State of Europe*, in which he arranged and estimated the information thus collected, and which was written when he was nineteen years of age, displays conspicuously the industry, guided by deep

penetration, which characterized his youthful mind. He places everything in the light which best shows its nature as a political element. He estimates the different weights, in the scale of national importance, with an inductive and philosophic soberness—a justness of discrimination, and a nicety of tact and acuteness, which give us not merely a knowledge of the subject, but also an insight into the state of his mind, prompted to make such observations by the early influence of that ambition which was the spring and life of his career.

His studies abroad were interrupted by the death of his father in 1579. Returning to London on this occasion, he found himself the only one of his family left unprovided for; his father having been prevented by the suddenness of his death from purchasing an estate with the money set aside for his youngest son. Instead of the whole, Francis received only a fifth share of the money. This caused him “straits and difficulties” in his youth. When a student in Gray’s Inn, he divided his time between law and philosophy; and nothing can be more false than the fustian of his biographers about his genius being too lofty for the dry and thorny paths of legal investigation. He was early a proficient in law, and the knowledge which he attained could only have been acquired by a bent of mind suited to its investigations. Law was his principal study. Though when a student he sketched his great work the ‘*Organon*,’ in a piece which his youthful pride entitled ‘*Partus Temporis Maximus*,’ the Greatest Birth of Time, his studies were chiefly directed to legal subjects.

On the 27th of June, 1582, he was called to the bar. His practice soon became considerable. In 1586, four years after, he was made a bencher. In his 28th year he became council extraordinary to the queen. In 1588 he was appointed a reader to his Inn; and again, in 1600, the Lent double-reader; appointments which showed the opinion of his professional acquirements held by those who were best able to judge of them, since the duty of reader was generally discharged by men of eminence in the profession, and seldom by persons so young as Bacon

in years and practice, when he first received the honour. His double-reading on the Statute of Uses has been republished several times, first in 1642; and in 1804 it was edited by William Henry Rowe, as a work of high authority on the difficult subject which it investigates.

Although connected with the most powerful family of Elizabeth's reign,—the nephew of Lord Burleigh, and the cousin of Sir Robert Cecil,—his advancement corresponded neither to the natural influence of his talents nor the apparently favourable position in which he was placed by his connexions. The practical and every-day minds of the Cecils were ill-fitted for appreciating the philosophic genius of Bacon; and his early and zealous friendship for their rival, the accomplished and unfortunate Earl of Essex, armed their prudence against him. They represented him to the queen as a speculative man; a dangerous individual, therefore, in the realities of business. All that the Cecils ever procured for him was the reversion of the office of Registrar of the Star Chamber; an appointment which, to use Bacon's comparison, "mended his prospect, but did not fill his barn." It was twenty years before he received the salary of 1600*l.* per annum, connected with this situation. The exertions of Essex in behalf of Bacon were more hearty, but less efficient. The office of solicitor-general becoming vacant, Essex endeavoured to procure the place for his friend, and when baffled by the superior influence of the Cecils, he generously made him a present of Twickenham Park, worth about 1800*l.*, and so beautiful a spot, that Bacon called it "a Garden of Paradise." A coldness came over their friendship owing to difference of policy and opinion. Bacon in vain entreated Essex to desist from the proceedings which caused his ruin. They parted on bad terms in consequence. Bacon reckoned the last act of Essex no better than madness. When ruin closed round upon him, Bacon did much that ingenious remonstrance and affectionate entreaty could do with her majesty in behalf of the ill-advised Earl. Many have doubted his sincerity in this course; and perhaps with some reason. At the command of her ma-

jesty, Bacon appeared as one of her majesty's counsel against his former friend ; and in mitigation of this apparent ingratitude, his admirers urge the compulsion laid upon him by the duties of his office, the risk of implication in the treasons of his patron, consequent upon refusal, and the opportunity which it gave him of mitigating the severity of the accusation. When commanded by the queen and her counsel to draw up a declaration of the treasons of Robert, Earl of Essex, it was found necessary to alter and embitter it considerably, the attachment of Bacon having softened down his statement so much that it was reckoned too mild for the nature of the case ; and her majesty remarked on first reading it, " I see old love is not easily forgotten." The public judge only by appearances, and Bacon's conduct was accordingly much censured. In his own vindication he addressed to one of the deceased earl's most devoted friends, a letter stating his conduct, and claiming merit to himself on grounds which perhaps will not satisfy those who require in political friendships the disinterestedness and self-sacrificing feelings of private attachment.

In 1592 Bacon was returned to parliament for the county of Middlesex, and distinguished himself in the debates by taking the popular side. His first political production was published in 1594. It was *Observations upon a libel entitled ' A Declaration of the Causes of the great Troubles.'* In 1596 his most popular work, *' Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral,'* was published, and about the same time his *' Maxims of Law.'* His circumstances at this time were very bad : he was disappointed in his attempts at forming a lucrative matrimonial connexion, and twice arrested for debt. Two years afterwards his *' History of the Alienation Office'* was written : the MS. is in the Inner Temple Library. His *' In felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ Angliæ Reginae'* was also written about this period. It was not published, however, until after his death, when it appeared, according to directions left in his will. This work, entitled in English *' Felicities of Queen Elizabeth,'* is a noble eulogium on the character of an illustrious princess, covering all the parts

of her history with the eloquent praise of one whose admiration flowed fully, in spite of the fact that she had constantly obstructed and retarded his ambitious views and advancement. It was about the time this panegyric was written, that a second legal treatise appeared, called 'The Use of the Law for the Preservation of our Persons, Goods, and Good Name, according to the Laws and Customs of this Land.'

Upon the accession of James I. the fortunes of Bacon brightened. He had employed every art in order to make sure of his interest with the new monarch, writing to all the Scottish gentlemen of whom he possessed any knowledge to engage their influence and services in his behalf. His vigilance had its reward. On the 23rd of July, 1603, he was one of 237 gentlemen who received the honour of knighthood. His eloquence and information gave him great weight in the House of Commons. Having been appointed by the lower house to make a representation of the oppressions of the royal purveyors committed in the name of the king, he executed his delicate task with a degree of address which combined prudence and boldness so well as to satisfy both the king and the parliament. The parliament gave him a vote of thanks, and the king made him one of his counsel. He received with this appointment, on the 25th of August, 1604, a pension of 40*l.* a-year, and 60*l.* additional for the joint services of himself and his brother Mr. Anthony Bacon: and he continued to rise in spite of the opposition of Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, and the powerful rivalry of Sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general. 'The Advancement of Learning' was published in 1605. Two years after he was made solicitor-general, and his professional diligence was crowned with distinguished success. His practice in Westminster Hall extended. Successful in his profession, and a favourite with the people, he added to his good fortune a rich wife, Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, Esq., a wealthy alderman of London. His address in stating the grievances of the nation to the king, an undertaking with which he was intrusted by the Commons, without lessen-

ing his influence at court, increased his popularity among the people. His speech on exchanging the ancient tenures of the crown for a competent revenue, advanced his reputation still higher by its clearness and eloquence. Though engrossed with the affairs of public life, his engagements did not turn him aside from his great design—formed in his early youth and cherished in his maturer years—the development of his improved plan for studying the sciences. He published the groundwork of his ‘*Novum Organon Scientiarum*,’ his ‘*Cogitata et Visa*,’ and sent copies of it to his learned friends for examination and criticism. The ‘*Filum Labyrinthi*’ was the original draft of his ‘*Cogitata et Visa*.’ The author of original and unpopular (because new) opinions in philosophy, Sir Francis Bacon exercised the utmost prudence in the publication of his views, adapting the light to the visual organs of others so as rather to enlighten than to dazzle, and letting in no more rays into the dark chamber of science, which it was his purpose to light up, than was necessary gradually and effectually to increase its brightness into sunshine. This was not all. He gained a literary and philosophical reputation by writing on less perilous subjects, with the intention, as he frequently stated, of securing an amount of consideration and respect likely to protect and *bulwark* his peculiar and original opinions from the attacks to which they would necessarily be exposed on their first publication. This was the object of his next work, ‘*The Wisdom of the Antients*,’ which was published in 1610. It prepared persons of all varieties of opinion for receiving with respect anything that came from him: the admirers of the wisdom of our ancestors were conciliated by the discussion of a favourite theme, and the original thoughts clothed in beautiful and eloquent language, which he infused into a hackneyed discussion, pleased a higher class of readers.

In the year 1611 Bacon was a joint judge of the Knight Marshals’ Court. In 1613 he was appointed attorney-general, and elected a member of the privy council. On this occasion the House of Commons

showed their regard for him in a particular manner. It was objected that a seat in the lower was incompatible with the duties of the attorney-general in the upper house of parliament. The objection was thought valid, but overruled in his particular case, in consideration of their regard for his services. His income was now considerable. His professional practice was great: the attorney-generalship was worth 6000*l.* per annum; as registrar of the Star Chamber he received 1600*l.*; and he had a good estate in Hertfordshire, and his father's seat of Gorhambury, by the death of his brother. An income like this, added to his wife's large fortune, might be supposed sufficient to remove all temptations to increase it by doubtful or dishonourable means.

While he was attorney-general Bacon was engaged professionally in several important cases. He was the king's agent against Peachum, a clergyman who was prosecuted for treason contained in a sermon never preached; and he exerted himself in getting the opinion of the judges before the trial, notwithstanding the unwillingness of Chief Justice Coke, and the illegality and injustice of such procedure. On the trial of the Earl and Countess of Somerset for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower, he distinguished himself by the perspicuity and eloquence with which he conducted the prosecution.

It has been common to describe Bacon as a flatterer of persons in power. That he was a courtier is undeniable. It must be mentioned to his praise, however, that he never paid his court to Somerset; and his connexion with Villiers was by no means one of servility and flattery, for he often acted independently, and his letters to him are full of advice, freedom, and sometimes reproof.

On the 7th of March, 1617, he was made lord keeper of the great seal, and on the 7th of May following he took office. During the king's visit to Scotland the new lord keeper exercised considerable power; but he did not exercise it so as to please. His manœuvring to prevent a marriage between Sir John Villiers, brother of

Buckingham the royal favourite, and a daughter of Sir Edward Coke, an alliance which would have increased the power of his rival, involved him in perplexity, and brought on him the resentment of Villiers. He also offended James by thinking ill of the projected marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta of Spain. In many instances he acted in his high office in a way beneficial to the state. He several times refused to put the seals to the improvident grants of Buckingham. His prudence, however, enabled him to regain the favour and friendship which he lost by these proceedings, and his advancement continued. On the 4th of January, 1618, he reached the summit of his ambition in being appointed lord high chancellor of England; and by letters patent dated Wanstead, 11th July, 1618, he was created Baron Verulam, and took his seat among the peers. Egerton, the old lord chancellor, had wished Bacon to be his successor, and Bacon himself wrote to the king soliciting the place on the grounds of his superior fitness for the office and the ready flexibility with which he would accommodate himself to the will and wishes of his sovereign. On putting the seals into his hands his Majesty gave him three advices: first, "never to seal anything without mature deliberation; secondly, to give righteous judgments between parties with dispatch; and thirdly, not to extend the royal prerogative too far." Bacon entered on his high office with great pomp, and delivered a long and eloquent speech on the advices of the king, in presence of many of the nobility. The influence of Buckingham had been exerted in his behalf, and his letter of thanks to that nobleman is truly eloquent and beautiful. Anxious to secure the "golden opinions" of the profession, the new lord chancellor invited the judges to a dinner, and requested that, since it was not his intention to extend the power of the court of chancery beyond its ordinary limits, they would inform him if ever they were dissatisfied with his proceedings, in order to a mutual and satisfactory adjustment of matters. He introduced some reforms into his court. He caused two reporters to be appointed, with a salary of

100*l.* each, and made some judicious arrangements in regard to hearing counsel and cases. On the 19th of November, 1619, he got the farming of the Alienation office. Next year he was made Viscount St. Alban's. In the beginning of 1620 he kept his birth-day with great state. Ben Jonson, the poet, celebrated his virtues, according to the fashion of the day, in some lines which are part of a masque performed on the occasion. Bacon chose this favourable moment for the publication of his 'Organon.' We have seen that it was the chief concern of his early thoughts and of his matured mind. In the midst of a rising career of professional, political, and literary effort, Bacon was moulding and shaping his great work, listening with an anxious ear to the remarks of the learned of his times, and at the height and maturity of his genius, when possessing all the highest honours which talent and learning could give him in his native land, we find this "servant of posterity" committing to its slow but infallible tribunal a work which, in reference to science, has been universally pronounced—the judgment of reason and experience in this rare instance confirming the boastings of youth—the *greatest birth of time*. This work was the gradual formation of a creating spirit. It was wrought up and polished with the sedulous industry of an artist who labours for posterity. Like the 'Analogy' of Butler, and all the greater productions of thought, the 'Organon' of Bacon was the result of painstaking labour spread through many years. Besides the 'Partus Temporis Maximus,' the 'Cogitata et Visa,' and the 'Filum Labyrinthi,' works which were outlines and model-figures prepared at distant and different stages of this long-studied production, Bacon copied his work twelve times, revising, correcting, and altering it year by year before it was reduced to that form in which it was committed to the press.

The reception of the work was such as, in the nature of things, must always be given to a production of its class—mingled ridicule and admiration. The geniuses laughed at it, and men of talent and acquirement, whose studies had narrowed their minds into particular channels,

incapable of understanding its reasonings and appreciating its originality, turned wits for the purpose of ridiculing the new publication of the philosophic lord chancellor. Dr. Andrews, a forgotten wit of those days, perpetrated a vile pun upon the town and title of St. Alban's by saying, in some doggerel verses, that it was on the high road to *Dunce table*, i. e., Dunstable, and therefore appropriate to the author of such a book. Mr. Secretary Cuffe said that it was a book which a fool could not have written, and a wise man would not. 'The pedantic king described it as like the peace of God,—it passeth all understanding. Bacon presented a copy to Sir Edward Coke.

Under a device, on the title-page, of a ship passing through the pillars of Hercules, Coke wrote in a clumsy attempt to wit—

It deserveth not to be read in schools,
But to be freighted in the ship of fools.

He was understood by some. Ben Jonson, after the author's death, described the book in terms of the highest praise. "Though by the most of superficial men who cannot get beyond the title of *nominals*, it is not penetrated nor understood, it really openeth all defects of learning whatsoever. My conceit of his person was never increased towards him by his place or honours. But I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper in himself, and in that he seemed to me ever by his work one of the greatest men and most worthy of admiration that had been in many ages."

After this the name of Bacon becomes tarnished with infamy. The ordinary apologies for his conduct, the rapacity of his servants, and his connexion with Buckingham, fail entirely in washing out the foul blot fixed upon him by the facts of his conduct. He was the victim of improvidence, a vice which gave him a perpetual craving for money to supply the wants which it created. A desire of this kind, kept alive by the constant necessities which it caused to press upon him, undermined those honourable and honest principles in regard to pecuniary matters without which no man was ever either upright or

respectable. Various writers have glozed over the disgraceful truths which belong to this period of an extraordinary life, and have thus deprived the world of the warning and instruction which they afford. The facts are almost too painful for minute statement; they increased in number and disgracefulness as the inquiry proceeded, and the two complaints and accusations which first occupied attention multiplied to upwards of twenty-four before the end of the proceedings. Shortly after his elevation to the woolsack, one Wrenham, against whom he had decided a case in chancery, complained to the king, and though, when inquired into, the circumstances turned out in Bacon's favour, the industry and pertinacity of this individual excited suspicions in several quarters of the integrity of the chancellor. The House of Commons appointed a committee to inquire into the proceedings of the courts of law. On the 15th of March, 1620, Sir Robert Phillips reported, in a manner full of delicacy and respect to the high station and illustrious talents of Bacon, that two charges of corruption had been brought against the lord chancellor. The cases were sifted immediately. Eager to ascertain the exact particulars, to elicit the just amount and kind of blame attached to a personage so elevated, the committee sat every day on the case, and made daily reports to the house on the evidence brought before them. In the discussions on these facts, though there were not wanting apologists and defenders of the conduct of this corrupt judge, the moral indignation of many of the members was expressed in terms of the strongest reprobation. The first case was of a poor gentleman of the name of Aubrey, who finding his suit in chancery going on with a ruinous slowness, was advised to quicken it by a gift to the lord chancellor. In his anxiety and distress he borrowed a hundred pounds from a usurer; Lord Bacon received the money. Sir George Hastings and Mr. Jenkins took the bribe in to the Lord Chancellor at his lodgings in Gray's Inn, and on coming out again assured the poor and anxious suitor in his lordship's name of thankfulness and success. The case was decided against him. When the chancellor

heard of the complaints of his victim, he sent for his friend Sir George Hastings, and entreated him, with many professions of affection and esteem, to stay the clamour of the poor man whom he had cheated. The evidence in the next case varied the form and deepened the colours of the lord chancellor's guilt. Mr. Egerton had several suits pending in chancery against Sir Rowland Egerton, and, under the name of an expression of gratitude for past services, he presented the chancellor with 300*l*. The case went in his favour, until the opposite and losing party expressed his gratitude also to the judge in the shape of 400*l*., when the superiority of four over three turned the scales of equity against him. On one of these occasions, when the decision was drawn out though not delivered, the influence of a well-bestowed bribe induced the chancellor to reverse his decree. The Lady Wharton, hearing that her suit was likely to go against her, was too clever and high-spirited a woman to be defeated without a struggle. She wrought a purse with her own hands, and having filled it with 100*l*., waited upon Bacon at his apartments, and begged his acceptance of a purse of her own making. The chancellor was of course too gallant a gentleman "to refuse anything from the hands of so fair a lady." She gained her cause.

The discussion in the Commons issued in referring the whole of the case to the Peers, the only authority competent to subject him to trial. The king told a deputation of the Commons to proceed fearlessly whatever might be the consequences, and whoever might be implicated; but he felt exceedingly for the chancellor, received him with undiminished affection, and caused a short recess of Parliament to give him time for his defence. The spirit of Bacon was crushed within him. His servants were undoubtedly the agents who sought out the victims of his corruption; and it is equally undoubted that their master was himself ruined by the rapacity and extravagance in which he permitted them to indulge. During the investigation of the charges, when Bacon one day entered his house, and his costly menials rose up and saluted him, he said bitterly, "Sit down, my masters, your rise has been my fall." He was great even in

such circumstances, and the native dignity of his mind shone out even through the disgrace in which he had clothed himself. There is something inexpressibly touching in the contrition which he expressed in the general confession which he first sent to the lords appointed to try him. This, however, did not satisfy the indignation of his judges. They demanded a particular confession of each charge by itself, a specification of the minute details of his meanness and guilt. This Lord Bacon sent, and when a deputation of the lords waited upon him to inquire if this paper was his own voluntary act, he replied "It is my act—my hand—my heart. O, my lords, spare a broken reed." He was stripped of his offices, disqualified for public life, banished beyond the precincts of the court, subjected to a fine of 40,000*l.*, and to imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure.

He was confined for a short time in the Tower, and then discharged. In the course of a few months he obtained a licence to come for a time within the verge of the court. And though this sentence was afterwards commuted by the king, his ruined fortunes were never repaired, and we have seldom felt the degradation into which Bacon had sunk himself so painfully as when reading the words of his pardon for all the frauds, deceits, impostures, bribes, corruptions, and other mal-practices of which he had been found guilty. He was summoned to attend parliament before he died; but the remainder of his days were spent chiefly in scientific pursuits, and the society of the friends whom adversity had left him. His name being high abroad, when the Marquis d'Effrat brought into England the princess Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I., he paid a visit to Bacon, and was received by his lordship, who was lying sick in bed, with the curtains drawn. "You resemble the angels (said that minister to him); we hear those beings continually talked of, we believe them superior to mankind, and we never have the consolation to see them." His lordship replied, "that if the charity of others compared him to an angel, his own infirmities told him he was a man." Bacon's works on natural history,

his *History of Henry VII.*, and some others, were published after his disgrace. Various accounts have been given of the immediate cause of his death. Some have attributed it to the bursting of a retort; others to an experiment on snow, which gave him a mortal chill. His last letter was written to the Earl of Arundel, in whose house at Highgate he expired on the 9th of April, 1626, in his sixty-sixth year. In this letter he calls himself the "martyr of science," and compares himself to Pliny the elder, whose death was caused by his over-zealous observation of Vesuvius. In his will, he says, "My name and memory I leave to foreign nations, and to my own countrymen, after some time be passed over." Lord Bacon left no children.

The accomplishments of Lord Bacon were unrivalled in his day, and his character displayed the phenomenon of great originality combined with a most extensive range of acquirements. He was a poet and an orator, a lawyer and a statesman. In the philosophy of experiment and of observation he was pre-eminent. The metaphysical and the physical were both congenial to his genius; and although the taint of his immorality has induced many to doubt the extent and to depreciate the excellence of his knowledge and ability in every department, except his method of studying nature, an impartial and searching examination will fill us with admiration as we successively trace his steps in almost every branch of intellectual exertion.

The observations and experiments of Bacon in physical science, viewed beside the results obtained by his immediate successors, do not appear to great advantage: nor can we compare them at all with the brilliant discoveries of his contemporary Galileo. It is only when viewed with reference to the *general* state of knowledge in his own times, that Bacon's recorded experiments and observations can be fairly estimated. His merits indeed would have been greater than those of any experimental philosopher, were his discoveries at all equal to the method of studying science which he taught.

In the first part of his great work on the 'Instauration

of the Sciences,' Bacon proposed to make a survey of knowledge as it then existed, which was a necessary preliminary to the reform which he contemplated. In this work he has made a distribution of all knowledge under the three heads of Memory, Imagination, and Reason. This division has been occasionally adopted by subsequent writers, though it does not appear to have the recommendation either of exactness or utility. The 'Novum Organum,' which is divided into two books, is the second part of the 'Instauration.' In the first book of the 'Organum' Bacon attempted to point out the states of mind which caused the existence of a false and fruitless philosophy. He saw causes of error in our common nature—in the peculiarities which mark the individual—in the mental use of the symbols of thought, and in those sectarian and party habits which the processes of association interweave with all the elements of the character, and harden into the schools and creeds which exert a despotic sway over successive generations. The influence of these mental states upon the interpreters of nature, Bacon called the worship of an idol: and the states themselves, in his fanciful nomenclature, are idols of different kinds: those which proceed from principles common to the species are *idols of the tribe*; those produced by the peculiar character of the individual are *idols of the den*; the commerce or intercourse of society by the use of words causes the worship of the *idols of the forum*; and the *idols of the theatre* are the creatures of the imaginary and visionary systems of philosophy which have appeared. Some causes of error are universal; the undue love of simplicity, and the spirit of system, are illusions influencing every mind, and therefore perpetually opposing the advancement of real knowledge. Other causes of error are peculiar. Some are disposed to mark the differences and others the resemblances of things, and the peculiar studies of a single mind are apt to warp its views in other regions of thought. Words influence thoughts, and the subtlety of the processes of the mind in using them is a source of error affecting the operations of the intellect and the communication of its

results. The perverse influence of systems is obvious; it is illustrated fully by the history of philosophy. The undue reverence for antiquity, the authority of names, the pursuit of unattainable objects, the examination only of the rare, the extraordinary, and the great, together with superstition, which Bacon does not forget to enumerate, had long opposed the progress of all true knowledge.

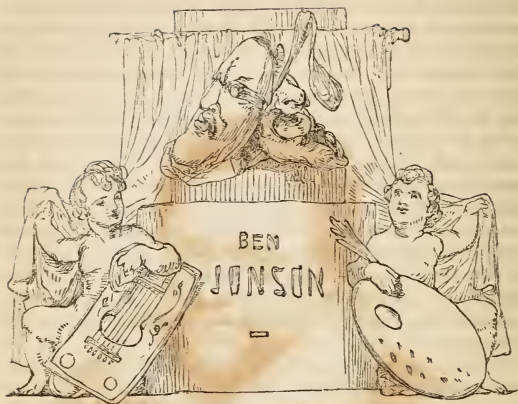
In the first part of the 'Organum,' the true object of science is clearly pointed out by Bacon: "It is impossible," he says, "to advance with any profit in the race, when the point to be attained is not distinctly determined. In science, the true end is to enrich human life with new discoveries and wealth." ('Organum,' lib. i. aphorism 81.) In the second book Bacon proceeds to explain the method of studying nature which he proposed for the advancement of science.

The first thing is to prepare a history of the phenomena to be explained, in all their modifications and varieties, written with the utmost caution and care in regard to the correctness of the language employed, and the evidence of the facts which we narrate. Having brought together the facts, we must begin by considering what things they exclude from the number of possible causes, or *forms*, as they are called in the language of Bacon. Negative instances in which the supposed *form* is wanting ought to be collected. "It may perhaps (says Bacon) be competent to angels or superior intelligences to determine the form or essence directly by affirmations from the first consideration of the subject. But it is certainly beyond the power of man, to whom it is only given at first to proceed by negatives, and in the last place, to end in an *affirmation* after the exclusion of everything else."

The observations and experiments of the natural philosopher—the facts which he is to record in his inductive history—are witnesses whose evidence, and the weight due to whose testimonies, vary in the same way as the evidences which form the grounds of moral investigations. The facts, or *instances*, as Bacon calls them, vary in

clearness, in authenticity, applicability, &c. Bacon enumerates twenty-seven different kinds of *instances*, and estimates the weight due to each from the peculiar circumstances which constitute their value or worthlessness as means of discovery and aids to investigation; but it is impossible in this outline to enter into a description of their nature and importance. Of these twenty-seven instances fifteen are enumerated to assist the understanding in estimating the value, and forming a right judgment, of different facts; five correct the fallacies of the senses and instruct them in their observations; and the remaining seven direct the hands "in raising the superstructure of art on the foundation of science." This last division includes the use of instruments in aiding the senses, in subjecting objects to alteration for the purpose of observing them better, and in the production of that alliance of knowledge and power which has, in our day, crowded every part of civilized life with the most useful inventions.

Such were the principles which Bacon shaped into rules for the conduct of experimental inquiries, when he was almost without an example of success to confirm his confidence and encourage his efforts. In the words of Professor Playfair, "the power and compass of the mind which could form such a plan beforehand, and trace not merely the outline, but many of the most minute ramifications of sciences which did not yet exist, must be an object of admiration to all succeeding ages."



THIS eminent dramatist was born at Westminster, in 1574. "His mother, after his father's death, married a bricklayer, and it is generally said that he wrought some time with his father-in-law, and particularly on the garden-wall of Lincoln's Inn, next to Chancery Lane." This is Aubrey's account; and there can be no doubt of the fact of Jonson's early occupation. But the young bricklayer had been building up something better than the garden wall of Lincoln's Inn. He had raised for himself an edifice of sound scholarship, as a boy of Westminster; and whilst his mother and step-father, according to Fuller, "lived in Hartshorn Lane near Charing Cross," he was studying under the great Camden, then a junior master of that celebrated school. The good old author of the 'Worthies' thus continues:—"He was statutably admitted into Saint John's College in Cambridge (as many years after incorporated a honorary member of Christ Church in Oxford), where

he continued but few weeks for want of further maintenance, being fain to return to the trade of his father-in-law. And let not them blush that have, but those that have not, a lawful calling. He helped in the building of the new structure of Lincoln's Inn, when, having a trowel in his hand, he had a book in his pocket."

Aubrey tells the story of his going to college, with a little more romance. He had not only the book in his pocket, but he was heard to repeat "Greek verses out of Homer;" and a bencher, discoursing with him, gave him an exhibition at Trinity College. Jonson's name does not appear in any of the Cambridge registers; and he probably remained at the University a very short time. Aubrey continues, "Then he went into the Low Countries, and spent some time (not very long) in the army, not to the disgrace of it, as you may find in his epigrams." The little poem to which Aubrey alludes is an address 'To True Soldiers':—

"I swear by your true friend, my muse, I love
Your great profession, which I once did prove;
And did not shame it with my actions then."

In Jonson's 'Conversation with Drummond of Hawthornden' he is made to tell that "In his service in the Low Countries he had, in the face of both the camps, killed one enemy and taken *opima spolia* from him." There is little doubt that his feats of arms were performed before he was twenty. In 1597 we find him in London, a player and a writer for the stage. Philip Henslow, one of the theatrical managers in that prosperous time of theatres, records in his diary of July, 1597, a loan of four pounds to Benjamin Jonson, player; and on the 3rd of December of the same year he also advances him twenty shillings "upon a book which he was to write for us before Christmas next." At this time he had written 'Every Man in his Humour,' for Henslow's theatre; not, however, in its present state, but with its scene laid in Italy. In the 'Life of Alleyn,' recently published by Mr. C. äs r. there is a letter from Henslow to Alleyn, for this to us printed,

which contains the following very curious passage:—“Since you were with me I have lost one of my company, which hurteth me greatly—that is Gabrell, for he is slain in Hogsden Fields by the hands of Benjamin Jonson, bricklayer.” This letter is dated in September, 1598. The use of the term “bricklayer,” to designate Jonson’s calling, is most remarkable. Either Henslow was ignorant (which appears very improbable) that the man who slew “Gabrell” was one of his own authors; or Jonson, with that manly independence which we cannot enough admire in his character, followed his step-father’s laborious occupation even at the time when he was struggling to attain the honours of a poet. That he unhappily killed a man in a duel there can be no doubt; he himself told the story to Drummond. “Since his coming to England, being appealed to the fields, he had killed his adversary, which hurt him in the arm, and whose sword was ten inches longer than his; for the which he was imprisoned and almost at the gallows.” Gifford supposes that this unfortunate event happened in 1595; but if there be no error as to the date of Henslow’s letter, “Benjamin Jonson, bricklayer,” was a poet of no mean reputation at the time of this event. His enemies never forgot that he had wielded the trowel. Dekker calls him the “lime-and-mortar poet.” Jonson had precisely the mind to prefer the honest labour of his hands to the fearful shifts and hateful duplicities to which the unhappy man of genius was in those days too often degraded.

Thus, then, about four years before the death of Elizabeth, there was a dramatic writer in London who, though scarcely twenty-five years of age, had studied society under many aspects. He was a scholar, bred up by the most eminent teachers, amongst aristocratic companions; but his home was that of poverty and obscurity, and he had to labour with his hands for his daily bread. He delighted in walking not only amidst the open fields of ancient poetry and eloquence, but in all the by-places of antiquity, gathering flowers amongst the weeds of infinite toil: but he possessed no

merely contemplative spirit: he had high courage and ardent passions, and whether with the sword or the pen he was a dangerous antagonist. This humbly-born man, with the badge of the "hod and trowel" fixed on him by his enemies—twitted with ambling "by a play-waggon in the highway"—with a face held up to ridicule as being "like a rotten russet apple when it is bruised," or "punched full of eylet-holes, like the cover of a warming-pan"—described by himself as remarkable for

"His mountain belly and his rocky face"—

with "one eye lower than t' other and bigger," as Aubrey has it—and, according to the same authority, "wont to wear a coat like a coachman's coat, with slits under the arm-pits;"—this uncouth being was for a quarter of a century the favourite poet of the court,—one that wrote masques not only for two kings to witness, but for one to perform in,—the founder and chief ornament of clubs where the greatest of his age for wit, and learning, and rank, gathered round him as a common centre; but, above all, he was the rigid moralist, who spared no vice, who was fearless in his denunciation of public or private profligacy, who crouched not to power or riches, but who stood up in the worst of days a real man. Aubrey, one of the shrewdest as well as the most credulous of biographers, has a very sensible remark upon the characteristics of Shakspeare's comedy, as compared with the writers after the Restoration. "His comedies will remain wit as long as the English tongue is understood, for that he handles *mores hominum*; now, our present writers reflect so much upon particular persons and coxcombeities, that twenty years hence they will not be understood." This is precisely the case with Jonson as compared with Shakspeare; but he is on this account a far more valuable authority for what essentially belong to periods and classes. Shakspeare has purposely left this field uncultivated; but it is Jonson's absolute domain. Studied with care, as he must be to be properly appreciated, he presents to us an almost

inexhaustible series of *Daguerreotypes*,—forms copied from the life with absolute certainty of the manners of three reigns,—when there was freedom enough for men to abandon themselves without disguise to what they called their *humours*, and the conflicts of opinion had not yet become so violent as to preclude the public satirist from attacking sects and parties. There is a peculiar interest, too, about Jonson and his writings, if we regard him as the representative of the literary class of his own day. In his hands the stage was to teach what the Essayists of a century afterwards were to teach. The age was to be exhibited; its vices denounced; its follies laughed at.

The influence of men of letters even upon their own age is always great; it is sometimes all-powerful. In Jonson's time the pulpit and the stage were the teachers and inciters; and the stage, taken altogether, was an engine of great power, either for good or evil. In the hands of Shakspeare and Jonson it is impossible to over-estimate the good which it produced. The one carried men into the highest region of lofty poetry (and the loftier because it was comprehensible by all), out of the narrow range of their own petty passions and low gratifications; the other boldly lashed the follies of individuals and classes, sometimes with imprudence, but always with honesty. If others ministered to the low tastes and the intolerant prejudices of the multitude, Jonson was ever ready to launch a bolt at them, fearless of the consequences. No man ever laboured harder to uphold the dignity of letters, and of that particular branch in which his labour was embarked. He was ardent in all he did; and of course he had many enemies. But his friendship was as warm as his enmity. No man had more friends or more illustrious. He was the father of many sons, to use the affectionate phrase which indicated the relation between the illustrious writer and his disciples. Jonson was always poor, often embarrassed; but his proper intellectual ascendancy over many minds was never doubted. Something of this ascendancy may be attributed to his social habits.

In the year 1599, when Henslow, according to his records, was lending Benjamin Jonson twenty shillings, and thirty shillings, and other small sums, in earnest of this play and that—sometimes advanced to himself alone, oftener for works in which he was joined with others—he was speaking in his own person to the audiences of the time with a pride which prosperity could not increase or adversity subdue. In ‘Every Man out of his Humour,’ first acted in 1599, he thus delivers himself in the character of “Asper, the Presenter :”—

“If any here chance to behold himself,
Let him not dare to challenge me of wrong ;
For if he shame to have his follies known,
First he should shame to act ’em : my strict hand
Was made to seize on vice, and with a gripe
Squeeze out the humour of such spongy souls
As lick up every idle vanity.”

The spirit which dictated these lines was not likely to remain free from literary quarrels. Jonson was attacked in turn, or fancied he was attacked. In 1601 he produced ‘The Poetaster ;’ and in his ‘Apologetical Dialogue which was only once spoken upon the stage,’ he thus defends his motives for this supposed attack upon some of his dramatic brethren :—

“Sure I am, three years
They did provoke me with their petulant styles
On every stage : and I at last, unwilling,
But weary, I confess, of so much trouble,
Thought I would try if shame could win upon ’em ;
And therefore chose Augustus Cæsar’s times,
When wit and arts were at their height in Rome,
To show that Virgil, Horace, and the rest
Of those great master-spirits, did not want
Detractors then, or practisers against them :
And by this line, although no parallel,
I hop’d at last they would sit down and blush ;
But nothing I could find more contrary.
And though the impudence of flies be great,
Yet this hath so provok’d the angry wasps,

Or, as you said, of the next nest, the hornets,
That they fly buzzing, mad, about my nostrils,
And, like so many screaming grasshoppers
Held by the wings, fill every ear with noise."

Every one has heard of the wit-combats between Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, described by Fuller:—"Many were the wit-combats betwixt him and Ben Jonson; which two I behold like a *Spanish great galeon* and an *English man-of-war*: Master Jonson (like the former) was built far higher in learning; *solid*, but *slow* in his performances. Shakspeare, with the *English man-of-war*, lesser in *bulk* but lighter in *sailing*, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention." When Fuller says "I behold," he meant with his "mind's eye;" for he was only eight years of age when Shakspeare died—a circumstance which appears to have been forgotten by some who have written of these matters. But we have a noble record left of the wit-combats in the celebrated epistle of Beaumont to Jonson:—

"Methinks the little wit I had is lost
Since I saw you; for wit is like a rest
Held up at tennis, which men do the best
With the best gamesters: what things have we seen
Done at the Mermaid! heard words that have been
So nimble, and so full of subtile flame,
As if that every one from whence they came
Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,
And had resolv'd to live a fool the rest
Of his dull life: then when there hath been thrown
Wit able enough to justify the town
For three days past—wit that might warrant be
For the whole city to talk foolishly
'Till that were cancell'd: and when that was gone
We left an air behind us, which alone
Was able to make the two next companies
Right witty; though but downright fools, mere wise."

Gifford has thus described the club at the Mermaid:
"About this time (1603) Jonson probably began to

acquire that turn for conviviality for which he was afterwards noted. Sir Walter Raleigh, previously to his unfortunate engagement with the wretched Cobham and others, had instituted a meeting of *beaux esprits*, at the Mermaid, a celebrated tavern in Friday Street. Of this club, which combined more talent and genius than ever met together before or since, our author was a member; and here for many years he regularly repaired with Shakspeare, Beaumont, Fletcher, Selden, Cotton, Carew, Martin, Donne, and many others, whose names even at this distant period call up a mingled feeling of reverence and respect." Jonson has been accused of excess in wine; and certainly temperance was not the virtue of his age. Drummond, who puts down his conversations in a spirit of detraction, says, "Drink was the element in which he lived." Aubrey tells us "he would many times exceed in drink; Canary was his beloved liquor." And so he tells us himself in his graceful poem 'Inviting a Friend to Supper:—

"But that which most doth take my muse and me
Is a pure cup of rich Canary wine,
Which is the Mermaid's now, but shall be mine."

But the rich Canary was to be used, and not abused:—

"Of this we will sup free, but moderately;
Nor shall our cups make any guilty men:
But at our parting we will be as when
We innocently met. No simple word
That shall be utter'd at our mirthful board
Shall make us sad next morning, or affright
The liberty that we'll enjoy to-night."

'This is not the *principle* of intemperance, at any rate; nor were the associates of Jonson at the Mermaid such as mere sensual gratification would have allied in that band of friendship. Jonson and Shakspeare passed through the slough of the theatre without a stain. Their club meetings were not the feasts of the senses alone.

One of Jonson's contemporary dramatists, Marmion, describes him in his presidential chair:—

“ The boon Delphic god
Drinks sack, and keeps his Bacchanalia,
And has his incense, and his altars smoking,
And speaks in sparkling prophecies.”

Soon after the accession of James, Jonson went to prison for a supposed libel against the Scots, in ‘ Eastward Ho ;’ in the composition of which comedy he assisted Chapman and Marston. They were soon pardoned : but it was previously reported that their ears and noses were to be slit. Jonson’s mother, at an entertainment which he made on his liberation, “ drank to him and showed him a paper which she designed, if the sentence had taken effect, to have mixed with his drink, —and it was strong and hasty poison.” Jonson, who tells this story himself, says, “ to show that she was no churl, she designed to have first drank of it herself.” This is a terrible illustration of the ways of despotism. Jonson was pardoned, probably through some favouritism. Had it been otherwise, the future laureate of James would have died by poison in a wretched prison, and that poison given by his mother. Did the bricklayer’s wife learn this terrible stoicism from her classical son ? Fortunately there was in the world at that day, as there is now, a higher spirit to make calamity endurable than that of mere philosophy ; and Jonson learnt this in sickness and old age. But he was to see days which the world called prosperous. From 1606 to 1633 Jonson lived in the sun of royal favour, and continued to produce masques at Court. The Court and the nobility went on masquing wherever the king abode. ‘ Pan’s Anniversary ’ was the last entertainment which Jonson offered to his old master. James, in 1621, would have forced the honour of knighthood upon his poet ; but Jonson’s good sense contrived to avoid it.

The literary life of Ben Jonson extended over nearly forty years : upon the whole, it was a successful literary life. He did not, like Shakspeare, realize a competency by adding the business of a theatrical manager to the pleasanter labours of a poet. His plays, no doubt, pro-

duced him money; but his occasional productions for the court and the city made him wealthier than most of his brethren. Aubrey tells us of his habitations:—"Long since, in King James's time, I have heard my uncle Danvers say (who knew him) that he lived without Temple Bar, at a comb-maker's shop, about the Elephant and Castle. In his later time he lived in Westminster, in the house under which you pass as you go out of the churchyard into the old palace, where he died." He had a library so stored with rare and curious books that Selden could find there volumes which he vainly sought in other places. He appears at this time to have lived a life of learned ease, enjoying stipends from the crown and from the city. From 1616 to 1625 he wrote no plays. After the death of James want probably drove him again to the stage. His later dramas are not to be compared with 'The Alchymist' and 'The Fox.' Disease and penury had come upon him. In the epilogue to 'The New Inn,' produced in 1630, he says,—

"If you expect more than you had to-night,
The maker is sick and sad."

In the same epilogue he has a touching allusion to the king and queen; and Charles instantly sent him an hundred pounds. The play itself was hooted from the boards; and Jonson took his revenge upon the town in his well-known ode:—

"Come, leave the loathed stage,
And the more loathsome age!
Where pride and impudence, in faction knit,
Usurp the chair of wit!
Indicting and arraigning every day
Something they call a play.
Let their fastidious, vain
Commission of the brain
Burn on and rage, sweat, censure, and condemn;
They were not made for thee, less thou for them.

* * * *

Leave things so prostitute,
And take the Alcaic lute;

Or thine own Horace, or Anacreon's lyre;
Warm thee by Pindar's fire :
And though thy nerves be shrunk and blood be cold,
Ere years have made thee old,
Strike that disdainful heat
Throughout, to their defeat,
As curious fools, and envious of thy strain,
May, blushing, swear no palsy 's in thy brain."

Supported by an increased pension, to which Charles added the " tierce of Canary," which the poets-laureate have ever since enjoyed, Jonson continued to write masques and other little poems for the court. His quarrel with Inigo Jones, from whatever cause proceeding, is a painful circumstance; and it is well that the satire which he wrote upon the illustrious architect is suppressed. He died in 1637, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Aubrey says, " He lies buried in the north aisle, in the path of square stone (the rest is lozenge), opposite to the scutcheon of Robertus de Bos, with this inscription only on him, in a pavement square, blue marble, about 14 inches square—' O RARE BEN JONSON !'—which was done at the charge of Jack Young (afterwards knighted), who, walking there when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen-pence to cut it."

THE END OF VOL. V.

THE
CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY
OF
BRITISH WORTHIES.

VOLUME VI.

L O N D O N :
CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., LUDGATE STREET.

1846.

PROSPECTUS.

‘THE PENNY MAGAZINE’ has now been in the course of publication for fourteen years; and *during the whole period the duties of Editor have been discharged* by Mr. KNIGHT, ‘under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.’ The time has arrived when that ‘superintendence’ has merged in the individual responsibility of the Editor.

Of the unexampled popularity of ‘The Penny Magazine’ it is unnecessary here to speak. It has especially had the distinction of being the first to diffuse, throughout the community, a source of enjoyment formerly inaccessible except to the rich; it has made the productions of Art cheap. The literature of ‘The Penny Magazine’ has invariably maintained its ruling character, — that of dealing with general subjects in a grave and earnest tone. Desirous only of advancing knowledge, it has laid no claims to meretricious brilliancy. It has avoided, rather than sought, the topics of the day. It has been a safe Miscellany, in which all classes might find much information and some amusement.

The circulation of ‘The Penny Magazine’ is very large; its reputation is unimpaired. But fourteen volumes having been completed in accordance with the original intention of the work, which was to combine miscellaneous information with expensive pictorial embellishment, circumstances now point to the necessity of some essential modification of plan. Left to his individual

responsibility in the conduct of the work, the Editor deems it his public duty to take a new position, to enable him to carry out his views of what should *now* be the character of a widely circulated and eminently cheap Miscellany. Such a periodical Work may command as high and as various literary talents as the most lofty of its contemporaries: and the best talents and acquirements may now be fitly employed in the service of the people, instead of addressing themselves only to readers of wealth and leisure. 'KNIGHT'S PENNY MAGAZINE' IS INTENDED TO BE FOR THE PEOPLE OF 1846 WHAT 'THE PENNY MAGAZINE' OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE' WAS FOR THE PEOPLE OF 1832.

Without any change in the objects for which 'The Penny Magazine' was established—to enlarge the range of observation, to add to the store of facts, to awaken the reason, and to lead the imagination into agreeable and innocent trains of thought,—A NEW PENNY MAGAZINE may be able to do much which its predecessor has, from the nature of its plan, of necessity left undone. *Essentially a continuation of 'The Penny Magazine' under the same Editorship*,—expecting the continued support of the constant friends of that Miscellany,—it seeks a more extensive circulation by aiming at *a wider range and a more varied character*. IT WILL HENCEFORTH BE CHIEFLY A MAGAZINE OF READING. *Woodcuts* will no longer continue to be the prominent feature of the work; but will be *frequently used* as necessary illustrations and as specimens of Art. As compared with 'The Penny Magazine,' the work now announced will be printed on a larger sheet, but a smaller page; it will consist of sixteen pages instead of eight; and will contain a much

greater amount of reading. It will be *printed in the best style, in a very clear Type*; and the form being that of a HANDSOME PORTABLE BOOK, it will bind in convenient Volumes four times a year, so as to constitute an important addition to a 'Library for all Readers.'

This change of plan will allow not only increased variety, but general expansion. *The articles will for the most part be longer*, permitting more scope to individual writers. The connexion with AUTHORS OF EMINENCE will be diligently sought, in the endeavour *to unite the highest excellence with the lowest price*,—a combination of which no reasonable man now doubts the practicability. To the one great object of diffusing *useful knowledge* will be added the constant desire to make that *knowledge interesting*. The intention not to disregard some *topics of the day* will be subjected to the duty of treating such topics with reference to a *permanent utility*. *Important subjects of information* will have their place in company with *amusing narrative, real or fictitious*. Light sketches of *passing manners* may freely range with sober essays on *permanent morals*; and the highest obligations of *sacred truths* may be enforced in a *cheerful spirit*. *Old books*, our most precious legacies, may be analyzed and quoted, while the *novelties of literature*, foreign as well as English, are exhibited with honest praise or considerate blame. Whilst the means of enjoyment within the reach of all, by the cultivation of innocent and unexpensive pleasures,—*the love and study of nature, horticulture, music, a taste for art*,—will be pointed out and enlarged upon as some counterbalance to the inequalities of society, the great practical objects of *social improvement*, which require the stimulus of governments and associations to

accomplish, will be earnestly advocated. With reference to *public questions*, it is scarcely necessary for the Editor to declare that he will avoid, as carefully as ever, all party or polemical discussion; at the same time not shrinking from the examination of opinions which he thinks delusive and mischievous. An earnest desire for the advancement of the great body of the people in knowledge and virtue, and therefore in power and happiness, without violent changes in the constitution of society, may be as efficient for good as the tawdry sentimentality which holds all the high few to be oppressive, and the sickly exclusiveness which believes all the humble many to be dangerous.

‘KNIGHT'S PENNY MAGAZINE’ will be published, as previously indicated, in a Weekly Sheet, a Monthly Part, and a Quarterly Volume: and in all these forms it may hope to become a Fireside and a Travelling Companion, as universally sought as “in the most high and palmy” days of ‘The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.’

. NUMBER I. was published on Saturday, January 3, 1846; PART I. will be published on the 31st January; and VOLUME I. on the 31st March.

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OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.



THE reign of Charles the First stands out by itself from all the other English reigns since the beginning of the monarchy. We have had civil wars in other reigns; but only in this a civil war of principles. Opposite principles have struggled for the ascendancy in other reigns, but only in this with the sword. Here is the only decided turning-point, or hinge, as we may call it, in the progressive movement of the constitution; the changes it has undergone at all other times have been made gradually, and as it were by a bending process; at this crisis it was forced, as if by a fracture, to develop

itself in altogether a new direction. The twenty years, indeed, from 1640 to 1660, do make such a disruption as occurs nowhere else in our history: they lie like a gulf beyond which everything is old; on this side of which everything is comparatively new or modern. Our original political system closes with the reign of Charles I.; that system was then seen for the last time in its integrity. It never was rebuilt from the ruin that then overtook it. For it is a great mistake to suppose that even the Restoration was a restoration of the spirit and actuating principle of that old system—that even the misgovernment of the twenty-eight years which preceded the Revolution was at all a thing of the same nature with the monarchism which prevailed before the meeting of the Long Parliament. Only think of a House of Commons debating the exclusion of the next heir to the throne under either Elizabeth or James I.! The truth is, that down to the civil war the prerogative was, in the theory of the constitution, above the law. It is not possible to deny it. There was nothing short of the destruction of life (if even that was an exception) that might not have been constitutionally done by the crown of its own authority. The liberty of the subject was entirely at the mercy of the crown; any man might at any time be apprehended and thrown into prison by the government, and detained there without being brought to trial, for as long as it chose. Men's property was scarcely better protected from rights of purveyance, claims of wardship, and other arbitrary exactions; if it was even held, which it scarcely was, that the crown had no right of levying taxes in any circumstances by its own authority. But upon that question we might refer to the decision of the judges in the case of ship-money, and the arguments upon which it was founded. Then, for security of person, any man might be charged with a state crime, and in the absence of all evidence might thereupon be put to the rack. Torture, indeed, was illegal, or contrary to law; but it was according to prerogative, and it was in constant use, because the prerogative, as we have said, was above the law. All this

ended with the reign of Charles I. He was our last prerogative, or, in plain words, theoretically absolute, king.

He was the third son of the first of the Stewart kings of England, James I., and of his wife Anne, daughter of Frederic II., king of Denmark, whom James married in her sixteenth year, in 1589: he himself being then twenty-three. Charles's two elder brothers were Henry (or Henry Frederic), who was born in 1594, and died in 1612; and Robert, of whom the genealogists only tell us that he died in infancy before his father succeeded to the English crown. Charles was born at Dunfermline, in Fife, on the 19th of November, 1600. Of four daughters born to James and Anne, two were also older than Charles: Elizabeth, who was born in 1596, and became the Electress Palatine and nominal Queen of Bohemia; and Margaret, who was born in 1598, and died young. The others, the only children whom James had after he came to England, were, Mary, who was born in 1605, and died in 1607; and Sophia, who was born in 1606, and only lived two days. Charles, therefore, was the youngest of the family who grew up, and, after the death of his brother Henry, he and his sister Elizabeth, four years older than himself, were all that remained to James of his seven children.

Spotswood says that "his christening was hastened because of the weakness of the child, and that his death was much feared;" and, as no authentic account makes mention of any bishop or even episcopally ordained clergyman who officiated on the occasion, it has been questioned whether he was really admitted with the usual ceremonies into that church of which he is the only authoritatively recognised saint and martyr. Be this as it may, when the family came to England, "Baby Charles," by which designation and no other his father spoke and wrote to him and of him to the end of his life, was committed to the care of the lady of Sir Robert Cary, he who, having taken horse on the instant, had brought James the first tidings of the death of Elizabeth, and who was created Baron Cary in 1622,

and Earl of Monmouth in 1626. On the 6th of January, 1604, the child was created Duke of York (the last person who bore that title having been Henry VIII. in the lifetime of his elder brother Arthur), and was at the same time made a Knight of the Bath. About two years after this, he was put to be educated into the hands of Mr. Thomas Murray, who in 1621 was appointed Provost of Eton College, and died in 1623, when his place was applied for by Bacon, recently deprived of his office of lord chancellor, but was given to Sir Henry Wotton. It is remarkable that this tutor of the future champion of the church was considered to be by no means a very sound Episcopalian. They tried to get him to take orders when he was made provost of Eton, as had been usual with persons holding that place; but he fought shy. This is stated in a letter to Buckingham by Bishop Williams, then lord keeper; and he adds in a postscript, "I schooled him soundly against Puritanism, which he disavows, though somewhat faintly." Charles is said to have proved an apt scholar. It is told that one day when a number of the nobility and bishops were assembled in the privy chamber, waiting for the king coming out, the Prince of Wales took Archbishop Abbot's cap and put it on his brother's head, saying, that if he was a good boy and minded his book, he would one day make him Archbishop of Canterbury. Here again we are reminded of Henry VIII., whose original destination is also said to have been the church. Of the two Charles would certainly have made the more suitable primate.

Charles became heir to the throne by the death of his elder brother, at an age very little later than Henry VIII., or before he had completed his twelfth year. But while Henry was created Prince of Wales almost immediately, it was not till about four years after, or on the 4th of November, 1616, that Charles was raised to that dignity. He succeeded to the Dukedom of Cornwall, however, on his brother's death.

We hear scarcely any thing more of him till he became king, except his famous scamper off to Spain with Buck-

ingham in 1623. George Villiers, a younger son of Sir Edward Villiers, of Brookesby, in Leicestershire, had purchased the office of cup-bearer, and had come to court as such in 1614. Early in the following year a plan was entered into, by the principal persons about the king, for setting up the new-comer, whose handsome person and elegant address had already excited the admiration of his majesty, as a rival to the favourite Somerset. The king parted with Somerset, with all his usual demonstrations of affection, on the 1st of August, 1615, and never saw him more. Meanwhile, on the previous 23rd of April, Villiers had been made a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and on the following day had received the honour of knighthood. After Somerset's dismissal and ruin, Villiers rose rapidly to the height of greatness. In August, 1616, he was created Baron Whaddon and Viscount Villiers; in January, 1617, Earl of Buckingham; and Marquis of Buckingham in the beginning of the following year. Meanwhile he had been made a Privy Counsellor and a Knight of the Garter; and had been elevated to the office first of Master of the Horse, and subsequently to that of Lord High Admiral. In July, 1618, also, his mother had been created Countess of Buckingham for life. But his honours and offices, rapid as their accumulation had been, very faintly indicate his real power. Not only at court, but in every department of the government, and in the church as well as in the state, he was as nearly supreme as the royal favour could make him, at a time when the king could do almost any thing he chose. All offices and dignities were at his disposal; even causes at law were determined by the judges in all the courts this way or that at his order; men of all ranks were supplicants for his protection and patronage. Charles is said to have at first, naturally enough, disliked Buckingham, but James succeeded in making them friends. The affair of the Spanish match, as it was called, began much about the same time with Buckingham's career at court; and it was the chief public business that occupied James's attention during the next seven or eight years. He probably did not consider

any other public object to be of equal importance with that of procuring a daughter of one of the royal houses of the first rank to be a wife for his son. The negotiation for the hand of the Infanta Maria, sister of Philip IV., the reigning king of Spain, was still in a somewhat uncertain though promising state, when Charles and Buckingham set out, with James's consent, on their extraordinary expedition. They left London privately on the 18th of February, 1623, travelled through France in disguise, under the names of John and Thomas Smith, and arrived unannounced in the dusk of the evening of the 7th of March at the residence of the Earl of Bristol at Madrid. Abundant particulars of this adventure are detailed in Clarendon, in Howell's Letters, in the correspondence of the king with his son and Buckingham published in the Hardwicke State Papers, and in other books. It appears that the affair had been gone about with such characteristic imprudence, that their departure was blown abroad a few hours after they had left London; this we learn from a long letter written by James on the 26th of February, beginning, "My sweet boys, and adventurous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso;" and concluding, "Your poor old Dad is lamer than ever he was, both of his right knee and foot, and writes all this out of his naked bed." "Dad," it is to be observed, is the reverential title by which Buckingham always addresses his majesty; whose name of endearment, on the other hand, for the favourite is Steenie, the Scotch diminutive of Stephen, suggested, it is supposed, by Buckingham's resemblance to the conventional representations of the young and handsome martyr. Their arrival at Madrid is thus related by Howell, who was there at the time:—"They alighted at my Lord of Bristol's house, and the Marquis (Mr. Thomas Smith) came in first with a portmanteau under his arm; then (Mr. John Smith) the prince was sent for, who staid a while on tother side of the street in the dark. My Lord of Bristol, in a kind of astonishment, brought him up to his bed-chamber, where he presently called for pen and ink, and dispatched a post that night to England, to ac-

quaint his majesty how in less than sixteen days he was come safely to the court of Spain; that post went lightly laden, for he carried but three letters. The next day came Sir Francis Cottington and Mr. Porter, and dark rumours ran in every corner how some great man was come from England; and some would not stick to say among the vulgar it was the king. But towards the evening on Saturday the marquis went in a close coach to court, where he had private audience of this king, who sent Olivarez to accompany him back to the prince, where he kneeled and kissed his hands and hugged his thighs, and delivered how unmeasurably glad his Catholic majesty was of his coming, with other high compliments, which Mr. Porter did interpret. About ten o'clock that night the king himself came in a close coach with intent to visit the prince, who, hearing of it, met him half-way; and, after salutations and divers embraces, which passed in the first interview, they parted late. . . . On Sunday following the king in the afternoon came abroad to take the air, with the queen, his two brothers, and the Infanta, who were all in one coach; but the Infanta sat in the boot, with a blue ribbon about her arm, of purpose that the prince might distinguish her; there were above twenty coaches besides, of grandees, noblemen, and ladies, that attended them. And now it was publicly known among the vulgar that it was the Prince of Wales who was come; and the confluence of people before my Lord of Bristol's house was so great and greedy to see the prince, that, to clear the way, Sir Lewis Dives went out and took coach, and all the crowd of people went after him. So the prince himself, a little while after, took coach, wherein there were the Earl of Bristol, Sir Walter Ashton, and Count Gondomar, and so went to the Prado, a place hard by, of purpose to take the air, where they staid till the king passed by. As soon as the ^{Ir^{ish}} she saw the prince, her colour rose very high, which ^{is} ever to be an impression of love and affection; for ^{they} have oftentimes a true index of the heart." The ^{the} English prince, however, as ought to have been ^{sent} as interested the demands of the Spanish court; ^{seat} hard by

proposed that before the marriage took place the King of England should not only promise certain concessions to his Roman Catholic subjects, but make some sort of acknowledgment of the supremacy or special power of the Pope. In a letter written to his "sweet boys," on the 17th of March, James observes that it has ever been his way to go with the Church of Rome *usque ad aras*—literally, as far as the altar, the meaning perhaps being that what he principally stuck at was the dogma of transubstantiation. He then runs on in the following curious and characteristic strain:—"I send you also your robes of the order, which ye must not forget to wear upon St. George's day, and dine together in them, if they can come in time, which I pray God they may, for it will be a goodly sight for the Spaniards to see my two boys dine in them. I send you also the jewels, as I promised, some of mine, and such of yours, I mean both of you, as are worth the sending. For my Baby's presenting his mistress, I send him an old double cross of Lorrain, not so rich as ancient, and yet not contemptible for the value; a good looking-glass, with my picture in it, to be hung at her girdle, which ye must tell her ye have caused it so to be enchanted by art magic, as, whensoever she shall be pleased to look in it, she shall see the fairest lady that either her brother or your father's dominions can afford. Ye shall present her with two fair long diamonds set like an anchor, and a fair pendant diamond hanging at them; ye shall give her a goodly rope of pearls; ye shall give her a corguant or collar, thirteen great balls rubies, and thirteen knots or conques of pearls; and ye shall give her a head-dressing of two and twenty great pear pearls; and ye shall give her three goodly peak pendant diamonds, whereof the biggest to be worn at a needle in the midst of her forehead, and one in every ear. And for my Baby's own coming, ye have two good jewels of your own, your (Mr.) brooch of diamonds, and your triangle diamond while on great round pearl; and I send you for your of Bristol, e three brethren, that ye know full well, but his bed-chamber and the mirror of France, the fellow of the ink, and dispend, which I would wish you to wear alone

in your hat with a little black feather ; ye have also good diamond buttons of your own, to be set to a doublet or jerkin. . . . And now for the form of my Baby's presenting of his jewels to his mistress, I leave that to himself, with Steenie's advice and my lord of Bristol's ; only I would not have them presented all at once, but at the more sundry times the better, and I would have the rarest and richest kept hindmost." Meanwhile matters seemed to be going on as was to be desired in what ought to have been considered the main respect. Here is an extract from another letter of Howell's, addressed to Captain Thomas Porter, and dated the 10th of July :—
“ I have seen the prince have his eyes immoveably fixed upon the Infanta half an hour together in a thoughtful speculative posture, which 'sure would needs be tedious unless affection did sweeten it : it was no handsome comparison of Olivarez, that he watched her as a cat doth a mouse. Not long since, the prince, understanding that the Infanta was used to go some mornings to the Casa de Campo, a summer-house the king hath on t'other side the river, to gather May-dew, he rose betimes and went thither, taking your brother (Endymion Porter) with him. They were let into the house, and into the garden, but the Infanta was in the orchard ; and there being a high partition wall between, and the door doubly bolted, the prince got on the top of the wall, and sprung down a great height, and so made towards her. But she spying him first of all, the rest gave a shriek and ran back. The old marquis that was then her guardian came towards the prince and fell on his knees, conjuring his highness to retire, in regard he hazarded his head if he admitted any to her company. So the door was opened, and he came out under that wall over which he had got in.” Howell adds that he has seen him watch a long hour together in a close coach in the open street to see the Infanta as she went abroad. Yet he cannot affirm that they have ever talked together in private ; and whenever they have conversed in public, not only his excellency, the English ambassador, has always necessarily been present as interpreter, but King Philip too has taken his seat hard by

and overheard everything. A most uncomfortable courtship. Among other attractions that the English Prince brought with him, or that were sent after him, was, it appears, the court fool or jester. "Our cousin Archy," says Howell, "hath more privilege than any, for he always goes with his fool's coat where the Infanta is with her meninas and ladies of honour, and keeps a blowing and blustering among them, and flurts out what he lists."

Jester and jewellery, however, romantic expedition and Romanistic concessions, all in the end availed nothing. The only person who seems to have acted throughout with steadiness and sincerity was the Earl of Bristol. James, much as his heart had long been set upon this Spanish match, had hardly given his consent to the project of the prince's journey when he repented, and in the absence of his son and the favourite he was like a child deprived of its playthings. His letters soon began to express the greatest impatience for their return. On the 11th of May he had been weak enough to send the prince, at the request of the latter, a warrant in the following terms:—"We do hereby promise, by the word of a king, that whatsoever you, our son, shall promise in our name, we shall punctually perform." "It were a strange trust," he writes in the accompanying letter to the prince and Buckingham (by this time elevated to the rank of a duke), "it were a strange trust that I would refuse to put upon my only son, and upon my best servant. I know such two ye are will never promise in my name but what may stand with my conscience, honour, and safety, and all these I do fully trust with any one of you two: my former letter will show you my conceit [conception of matters], and now I put the full power in your hands, with God's blessing on you both, praying him still, that, after a happy success there, ye may speedily and happily return, and light in the arms of your dear Dad." But even their success or failure speedily becomes a matter of no consequence, so that he may have them back. Writing again on the 14th of June he urges them, if they can by any means

contrive to get leave, to come away, in any case, and give over all treaty, at once. "And this," he adds, "I speak without respect of any security they can offer you, except ye never look to see your old Dad again, whom I fear ye shall never see, if you see him not before winter. Alas, I now repent me sore that ever I suffered you to go away. I care for match nor nothing, so I may once have you in my arms again; God grant it—God grant it—God grant it! Amen—amen—amen! I protest ye shall be as heartily welcome as if ye had done all things ye went for, so that I may once have you in my arms again; and God bless you both, my only sweet son, and my only best sweet servant, and let me hear from you quickly with all speed, as ye love my life. And so God send you a happy and joyful meeting in the arms of your dear Dad." Again, on the 5th of August, he writes, "I have no more to say, but if you hasten you not home, I apprehend I shall never see you, for my extreme longing will kill me." But it had already been determined by Buckingham that the affair should not go on. He and the Spanish prime minister or favourite, Olivarez, had quarrelled; and, instead of a matrimonial alliance, it had now become the desire of both to bring about a war between the two countries. It was arranged therefore that James should send a formal order commanding his son to return home, which he did on the 10th of August. On its arrival at Madrid, Charles immediately intimated his intention of obeying it, but proposed to leave full powers with the Earl of Bristol to have the marriage solemnized by proxy as soon as a dispensation should come from the new pope, for the death of Gregory XV. was held to render the one already obtained from him inoperative. After promising upon a oath that Bristol should act upon the said powers within ten days after the dispensation should make its appearance, Charles parted from the Spanish king, on the 9th of September, with every profession of affectionate regard on both sides. The poor Infanta now assumed the title of Princess of England, and had a court formed for her as such. Nevertheless, soon after Charles and Buckingham got

home, express orders were sent to Bristol to proceed no further in the business; and the enmity of Spain and the late solemn contract were equally set at defiance.

This first public transaction in which Charles figured was not calculated to strike the world with admiration of the openness and sincerity of his nature. Besides the part he acted in making his escape from Spain and from the match, it may be doubted if even his apparent attachment to Buckingham was more than a show and a pretence. Their characters were so dissimilar, or rather so opposite, that any real regard or sympathy between them seems impossible. Or, if Charles, with his outward decorum of life and professed principles of religion and virtue, did consort intimately with so reckless a libertine as Buckingham, he must have been a great dissembler. But what perhaps gives us the worst impression of him is his treatment of the lady. Notwithstanding all his elaborate ostentation of gallantry, it cannot be believed, looking to his hollow and heartless leave-taking, that he had ever cared for her. But he had assumed the character of a lover, and he thought that to sit for half an hour in a thoughtful speculative posture with his eyes fixed upon the object of his pretended passion, like a cat watching a mouse, was the way to perform such a part. We do not recollect that in his letters to his father he ever expresses any admiration of the Infanta. It is not improbable that he had already been captivated or at least prepossessed by the superior attractions of the French Princess, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV., and sister of the reigning king, Louis XIII., whom, it is said, he and Buckingham had seen at a ball as they passed through Paris on their way to Spain. At all events, as soon as the Spanish Infanta had been shaken off, a negotiation was opened for the hand of this daughter of France; and, after some difficulties and delays, the marriage was at last agreed upon, in November of the following year, 1624. The marriage was celebrated at Paris on the 1st of May, 1625, the Duke of Chevreuse acting as proxy for the bridegroom; and the bride arrived in England on the 12th of June. Our epistolary

friend Howell, who saw her at her landing, describes her as "in true beauty beyond the long-wooded Infanta;" "for she," he proceeds, "was of a fading flaxen hair, big-lipped, and somewhat heavy-eyed; but this daughter of France, this youngest branch of Bourbon, is of a more lovely and lasting complexion, a dark brown. She hath eyes that sparkle like stars; and, for her physiognomy, she may be said to be a mirror of perfection." And Lord Kensington, who had been sent to negotiate the marriage, thus writes to the prince from Paris, on the 26th of February, 1625, in a letter which is preserved in the Cabala:—"You will find a lady of as much loveliness and sweetness to deserve your affection as any creature under heaven can do. And, Sir, by all her fashions since my being here, and by what I hear from the ladies, it is most visible to me, her infinite value and respect unto you. Sir, I say not this to betray your belief, but from a true observation and knowledge of this to be so. I tell you this, and must somewhat more in way of admiration of the person of Madame; for the impressions I had of her were but ordinary, but the amazement extraordinary to find her, as I protest to God I did, the sweetest creature in France. Her growth is very little short of her age, and her wisdom infinitely beyond it. I heard her discourse with her mother, and the ladies about her, with extraordinary discretion and quickness. She dances (the which I am a witness of) as well as ever I saw any creature. They say she respects as most sweetly. I am sure she looks so various instances austere Sir Symonds d'Ewes, when heuding, "Thus having at Whitehall after her marriage. - dance of that that should absolute delicate creature." "tentments, I can no longer laced Puritan, "her deportme be the cause and fomenters of so sweet and humble, and at my wife any longer; which other servants so mild and for one action they made my abstain from divers deep-see her go to Tyburn in devotion she wanted the knowledge can have no greater invective eye in particular has beer the relation." T^{ts} affair here where it is said that it m^rimage which Qu^{ts}a Henrietta's perform one morning, barefoot, all

“ on Jove himself have thrown
As bright and fierce a lightning as his own.”

And in truth it was soon found that the lightning would sometimes become rather too fierce, and that the little woman could upon occasion put on a scowl worthy of Juno herself.

But before the actual celebration of his marriage, though after the affair had been finally arranged, Charles had lost his father. James died on the 27th of March, 1625; and Charles became king. Before presenting such a rapid summary as our limits will permit of the history of his reign, we will advert for a moment longer to those personal and domestic matters which come more properly within the scope of biography.

The union of Charles and his queen was by no means a harmonious one for some time at first. For this there would appear to have been two principal causes: on the one side, the influence of her French attendants, clergy, women, and others, with Henrietta; on the other, the equal ascendancy maintained over her husband by Buckingham. There are two letters in the Hardwicke State Papers, from Charles to Buckingham, then at Paris, both dated from Hampton Court on the same day, the 20th of November, 1625, less than six months after the queen's arrival in England, in the first of which he intimates his intention of cashiering or dismissing her *mon-sieurs*, on the ground of their attempting to steal away his least prepossessions the meaning is, to steal away her affection. French Princess, *Henir* making feuds with his own subjects; IV., and sister of the reign, which he says, “ You know what it is said, he and Buckingham the unkind usages of my wife, passed through Paris on their t it was not in her nature, but events, as soon as the Spanish Ind overcome by your persuasion, a negotiation was opened for tiges would be able to rectify ter of France; and, after some d. hope my ground may be the marriage was at last agreed upon, erred in your opinion; for following year, 1624. The marriaffects of ill offices done be- Paris on the 1st of May, 1625, the g no power to mend any- acting as proxy for the bridegroom to vent myself to you in arrived in England on the 12th of June

this particular, for grief is eased being told to a friend ;” &c. But the most detailed account we have of his grievances, from the unfortunate husband, is in a letter of instructions despatched by him from Wanstead, on the 12th of July, in this same year, to Lord Carlton, then English ambassador at the French court, a copy of which was found in his own hand among his papers taken by the parliamentary army at Naseby, in 1645, and soon after printed under the title of ‘The King’s Cabinet Opened.’ This curious statement is far too long to be given in full ; but two or three sentences may be quoted. His majesty begins by referring to the knowledge which both the French king and his mother already have of the unkindness and distastes which had fallen out between his wife and himself, “which hitherto,” he continues, “I have borne with great patience (as all the world knows), ever expecting and hoping an amendment ; knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty counsels of her servants for advancing of their own ends, rather than her own inclination.” Their quarrelling began a very short time after their marriage. “Madame St. George,” says his majesty, “taking a distaste because I would not let her ride with us in the coach, when there was women of better quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due (which in England we think a strange thing), set my wife in such an humour of distaste against me, as, from that very hour to this, no man can say that ever she used me two days together with so much respect as I deserved of her.” And then he relates various instances of her contumacy and violence ; concluding, “Thus having so long patience with the disturbance of that that should be one of my greatest contentments, I can no longer suffer those that I know to be the cause and fomenters of these humours to be about my wife any longer ; which I must do, if it were but for one action they made my wife do, which is, to make her go to Tyburn in devotion to pray ; which action can have no greater invective made against [it] than the relation.” This affair here referred to was a pilgrimage which Queen Henrietta’s confessor made her perform one morning, barefoot, all

the way across Hyde-park, to the gallows at Tyburn, on arriving at which she knelt and prayed to the Roman Catholic sufferers who had been executed there in the two preceding reigns, as so many saints and martyrs.* It was an act certainly for which Charles might have been justified in locking her up as gone out of her senses. But he satisfied himself with a milder course. He had already, on the 1st of July, gone to Somerset House, where the queen's foreign establishment was lodged, and had told the monsieurs and madames that he neither could nor would any longer endure their conduct; but finding they would take no hint, he was obliged a few weeks after to employ stronger measures. We find him on the 7th of August writing to Buckingham, in a letter printed by Sir Henry Ellis, "Force them away, drive them away, like so many wild beasts, and so the devil go with them." Accordingly they were all sent off a few days after in a string of about forty coaches to Dover, which they reached after a journey of four days, and whence they were transported to France on the 12th of August. The Roman Catholic account is that there were only sixty of them, and this appears to have been their original number; but they are said to have received large accessions while here, and one enumeration makes them to have amounted, when they were turned off, to four hundred and forty in all, besides children. It is affirmed that the keeping of them cost 240*l.* a day; and that the payment of their debts, and of some presents and pensions bestowed upon them at their departure, absorbed not less than 50,000*l.* Queen Henrietta became a manageable wife after she was thus taken out of the hands of her French priests and waiting-women; nay, she came, as was generally believed, to manage her husband, who acquired for the rest of his life the reputation

* Dr. Lingard, after professing, in a note, to examine the evidence upon which this charge rests, comes to the conclusion that it was of a mere fiction invented by the enemies of the queen and her religion; but he takes no notice of the passage quoted in the text from the king's own letter

of extreme uxoriousness, or obsequiousness to the counsels and wishes of his wife. But in how far she is chargeable with having been, as has been represented, the instigator of some of his worst mistakes, or of those parts of his conduct which would seem to have principally occasioned his misfortunes and eventual ruin, may be doubted. There was enough in Charles's own character, and indeed almost in his position, whatever his character had been, to occasion and to account for all that happened.

At his accession circumstances and the minds of men were ripe for a renewal of that struggle between the popular and the monarchical principles of the constitution, which his predecessor had with difficulty put down when it broke out in the parliament assembled in 1621. Charles began his reign by retaining as his chief adviser the unpopular, unprincipled, and incapable Buckingham. And Buckingham's first proceeding was to commence hostilities against Spain, and thus to involve his master in pecuniary difficulties, which offered to the popular party an opportunity of pursuing their objects too promising to be neglected.

The reign commenced accordingly with a contest between the king and the parliament, the latter firmly refusing to grant the supplies demanded by his majesty until they had obtained both a redress of grievances and a limitation of the prerogative. Charles on his part met the resistance of the parliament both by insisting upon preserving the prerogative entire and by boldly putting it in force. In the course of this first contest three parliaments were successively called together and dismissed. The first met on the 18th of June, 1625, and was dissolved the 12th of August, in the same year; the second met the 6th of February, 1626, and was dissolved, before it had passed a single act, the 15th of June; the third met the 17th of March, 1628, was suddenly prorogued the 26th of June, was called together for a second session the 20th of January, 1629, and was finally dissolved the 10th of March of the same year. All this time the proceedings of the king continued to

be of the most arbitrary character. Money was collected from the people by force; the influence of the crown was exercised in the most open manner to overawe the judges, in cases in which the liberty of the subject was concerned; the first privilege of parliament itself was violated by the seizure of members of the House of Commons, and their commitment to prison, for words alleged to have been spoken by them in debate. Nor is Charles free from the charge of having resorted to manœuvring and subterfuge to escape from the demands with which he was pressed. He is especially exposed to the charge of such insincerity and indirectness by his conduct in the affair of the Petition of Right, which was passed in the first session of his third parliament, and to which he was eventually compelled to give his assent. This was the greatest, indeed it may be said the only, victory obtained by the popular party in the course of the struggle; and it was rendered ineffectual for the present, by the temporary success of the king in the plan which he at length adopted of governing without parliaments. Immediately before entering on this line of policy, he wisely made peace, first, on the 14th of April, 1629, with France, with which power he had entered (in July, 1626) into a foolish war, every operation in which was a disgraceful failure; and secondly, on the 5th of November, 1630, with Spain, the war with which had not been more creditable to his arms. Meanwhile also, the assassination of Buckingham, on the 23rd of August, 1628, had rid him of that evil adviser.

His principal advisers now were the queen, Bishop Laud, and Wentworth, created Earl of Strafford. The state of things now established, and which may be described as the complete subjugation of the constitution by the prerogative of the crown, lasted for nearly eight years. The only memorable attempt at resistance was that made by Hampden, who refused to pay his assessment of ship money, and whose case was argued before the twelve judges, in April, 1637, and decided in favour of the crown. Meantime, however, the opposition of

the people of Scotland to the episcopal form of church government, which had for some time been established among them, suddenly burst out into a flame. The first disturbances took place at Edinburgh, in the end of July, 1637 ; and by the beginning of the following year the whole country was in a state of insurrection against the royal authority. In these circumstances Charles called together his fourth parliament, which met on the 13th of April, 1640. The temper which the members showed, however, induced him to dissolve it on the 5th of May following. But the Scotch army having entered England on the 20th of August, he again found himself forced to have recourse to the representatives of the people. The result was, the meeting, on the 3rd of November, of a fifth parliament, which is generally known under the name of the Long Parliament.

The first proceedings of this assembly amounted to entering into a complete alliance with the Scottish insurgents. By one bill after another, the king was stripped of all the most objectionable of his prerogatives. The commons also voted that no bishop should have any vote in parliament nor bear any sway in temporal affairs, and that no clergyman should be in the commission of the peace. Of his advisers, Laud was sent to the Tower, and Strafford was executed, in conformity with an act of attainder, his assenting to which has always been regarded as one of the greatest stains on the character of Charles. Laud also, as is more particularly related in a subsequent page, was executed after he had remained a prisoner in the Tower more than four years. After having yielded everything else, however, Charles refused his assent to the Militia Bill, which was presented to him in February, 1642, the object of which was to transfer all the military power of the kingdom into the hands of the parliament. The first blood drawn in the civil war which followed was at the indecisive battle of Edgehill, fought on Sunday, the 23rd of October, in that year. After this the war extended itself over the whole kingdom. For some time success seemed to incline to the royal side, and at the beginning of the year

1644, throughout both the west and the north of England, all opposition to the king was nearly subdued. In February of that year, however, another Scottish army crossed the border, and on the 2nd of July, at Marston Moor, the royalists sustained a defeat from the combined Scottish and parliamentary forces, which proved a fatal blow to the king's affairs. The brilliant exploits of the Marquis of Montrose in Scotland, at the end of this year and the beginning of the next, were thrown away in the circumstances in which his royal master now was. At length, on the 14th of June, 1645, was fought the battle of Naseby, which may be said to have finished the war. On the 5th of May, 1646, Charles delivered himself up to the Scotch army encamped before Newark, who, on the 30th of January, 1647, gave him up to the commissioners of the English parliament. On the 3rd of June he was forcibly taken by Cornet Joyce out of the hands of the commissioners, and carried to the army then lying at Triplow Heath, and now in open rebellion against their old masters of the parliament. On the 16th of August he was brought by the army to Hampton Court, from which he made his escape on the 11th of November, and eventually sought refuge with Hammond, the parliamentary governor of the Isle of Wight. Here he was detained a close prisoner in Carisbrook Castle till the 30th of November, 1648, when he was seized by Colonel Ewer, and carried to Hurst Castle, on the opposite coast of Hampshire, by an order of the council of officers in the army. Meanwhile risings in his favour, which had been attempted in various parts of the kingdom, were all suppressed without difficulty by the now dominant army. An army in the Presbyterian interest, which was advancing from Scotland under the conduct of the Duke of Hamilton, was met on the 17th of August, at Langdale, near Preston, by Cromwell, who, after completely routing it, penetrated as far as Edinburgh, and reduced everything to subjection in that quarter. On the 6th of December, Colonel Pride took possession of the House of Commons, with a strong detachment of soldiers, and cleared it by force of all the

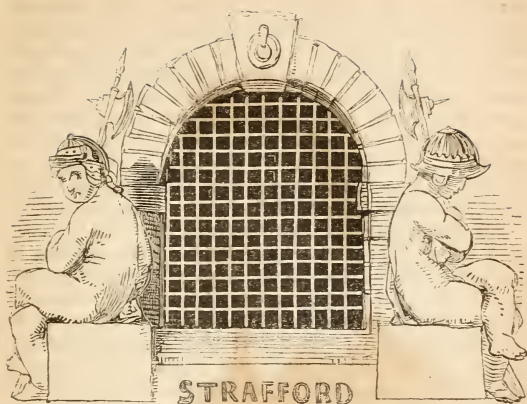
members, except the minority of about a hundred and fifty, who were in the Independent interest. On the 23rd the king was brought in custody to Windsor, and on the 15th of January, 1649, to St. James's. On the 20th, he was brought to trial in Westminster Hall, before what was designated the High Court of Justice. Sentence of death was pronounced against him on the 27th, and he was executed by decapitation, on a scaffold erected in front of the Banqueting House at Whitehall, at two in the afternoon of the 30th.

Charles I. had eight children by Queen Henrietta, of whom six survived him; namely, Charles, Prince of Wales, and James, Duke of York, afterwards Kings of England; Henry, created, in 1659, Duke of Gloucester; Mary, married to William, Prince of Orange, by whom she became mother of William, afterwards King of England; Elizabeth, who died a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, September 8th, 1650, in her fifteenth year; and Henrietta Maria, who married Philip, Duke of Orleans, from whom, through a daughter, is descended the Royal family of Sardinia.

The literary works attributed to King Charles have been collected and published under the title of '*Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ.*' A list of them may be found in Horace Walpole's '*Royal and Noble Authors.*' They consist chiefly of letters and a few state papers, and of the famous '*Eikon Basilike,*' which first appeared immediately after the death of the king; but his claim to the authorship of this work has been much disputed, and is now generally considered to have been disproved. His majesty, however, was master of an easy and occasionally forcible English style, and he was a great friend to the fine arts, which he encouraged in the early part of his reign.

The original authorities for the history of the reign of Charles I. are very numerous. Among those of greatest importance may be mentioned Rushworth's '*Historical Collections;*' Whitelock's '*Memorials of English Affairs;*' Clarendon's '*History of the Grand Rebellion;*' and May's '*History of the (Long) Parliament.*' The

general reader will find a sufficiently ample detail of the events of the time in the histories of Rapin, Hume, and Lingard. The most important of the recent works on the reign of Charles I. are those of Brodie, Godwin, and D'Israeli. The subject of the authorship of the 'Eikon Basilike' has been re-agitated of late by Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in a work in which he contends that the book was the production of King Charles.



THOMAS WENTWORTH, afterwards Earl of Strafford, was born in Chancery-lane, London, on the 13th of April, 1593. He was the eldest son of Sir William Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouse, in the county of York, where his family are said to have been settled since the time of the Conquest. His family was one of the most opulent as well as ancient of the class known in England under the name of gentry, and had frequently intermarried with the higher aristocracy. The estate which Wentworth inherited from his father was worth 6000*l.* a year, a very large sum at that time, probably equal to more than three times the amount in the present day. ('Strafford's Letters and Dispatches,' vol. ii., pp. 105, 106, folio edition, London, 1739, and Dr. Knowler's Dedication, prefixed to them.) He received part of his education at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1611 he married the Lady Margaret Clifford, the eldest daughter of Francis, earl of Cumberland. The

accuracy of this date as that of his first marriage, given by his friend Sir George Radcliffe, appears to be established by a letter dated 11th January, 1611, from Sir Peter Frecheville to his father Sir William Wentworth; although the compilers of his Life in the 'Biographia Britannica' have chosen, in direct opposition to the statement of Radcliffe, the old and intimate friend of Wentworth, to place his marriage after his return from the Continent, towards the end of 1612 (by the old mode of reckoning, according to which the legal year began on the 25th of March, but by the new about the beginning of 1613), instead of in 1611, before his going abroad.

The same letter also shows that he was from his early years of studious and regular habits. He appears to have taken almost as much pains as Cicero recommends for the education of an orator. Sir George Radcliffe informs us that the excellence possessed by him in speaking and writing he attained first by reading well-penned authors in French, English, and Latin, and observing their expressions; secondly, by hearing of eloquent men, which he did diligently in their sermons and public speeches; thirdly, by a very great care and industry, which he used when he was young in penning his epistles and missives of what subject soever; but above all, he had a natural quickness of wit and fancy, with great clearness of judgment, and much practice, without which his other helps of reading and hearing would not have brought him to that great perfection which he had obtained. "I learned one rule of him," adds Sir George, "which I think worthy to be remembered; when he met with a well-penned oration or tract upon any subject or question, he framed a speech upon the same argument, inventing and disposing what seemed fit to be said upon that subject before he read the book; then reading the book, compare his own with the author, and note his own defects, and the author's art and fullness; whereby he observed all that was in the author more strictly, and might better judge of his own wants to supply them." ('Strafford's Letters and Dispatches,' vol. ii. p. 435.)

In some of Strafford's earlier letters, particularly those

to Sir George Calvert, principal secretary of state in the time of James I., there is, though no marks of profound scholarship, a somewhat pedantic display of trite Latin quotations. From these however, though we may judge so far of the extent of Strafford's scholarship, it would be incorrect to estimate his abilities, for they are mostly confined to his early letters, and, among them, to his letters to courtiers.

Upon his early habits still further light is thrown by some advice which he gives to his nephew, Sir William Savile, in a letter dated "Dublin Castle, 29th September, 1633." Advising him to "distrust himself and fortify his youth by the counsel of his more aged friends before he undertakes any thing of consequence;" he adds, "It was the course that I governed myself by after my father's death, with great advantage to myself and affairs, and yet my breeding abroad had shown me more of the world than yours hath done; and I had natural reason like other men, only I confess I did in all things distrust myself, wherein you shall do, as I said, extremely well if you do so too." ('Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 169.)

The letter from which the above quotation is made contains so much good advice, so well and so weightily expressed, that it may bear a comparison with Burleigh's celebrated 'Advice to his Son;' the resemblance in some passages is striking. With respect to the greater part of this advice, particularly what regards economy and regularity in the management of his private affairs, temperance in drinking, and abstinence from gaming, it was the rule by which Wentworth shaped his own conduct, and to which, according to Radcliffe, he strictly adhered. The part of the advice to which he himself least adhered was that recommending calmness and courtesy of demeanour; for even his most intimate friend Sir George Radcliffe admits that "he was naturally exceeding choleric," and the actions of his life show that in that particular he was never able thoroughly to subdue nature.

In the same year in which he was married Wentworth

went into France, having previously been knighted. He was accompanied by the Rev. Charles Greenwood, fellow of University College, Oxford, as his "governor," or travelling tutor, for whom he entertained the greatest respect and regard to the end of his life. In February, 1613, he returned to England. He was returned and sat for the county of York in the parliament which began April 5th, 1614. Radcliffe's account as to this date, though rejected by the writers in the '*Biographia Britannica*,' and Mr. MacDiarmid, is confirmed by Browne Willis's '*Notitia Parliamentaria*,' vol. iii. p. 169: "Co. Ebor., Jo. Saville, kt., Thomas Wentworth, kt. and bart., anno 12 Jac. I., began April 5, 1614, and continued till June 7, and was then dissolved." During this short parliament, which continued only two months, Wentworth does not appear to have spoken. Mr. Forster, his latest biographer, says that he has examined the Journals, and finds no trace of Wentworth's speaking on either side in the great struggle that was then going on. ('*Life of Strafford*,' in the '*Cabinet Cyclopædia*;' '*Lives of Eminent British Statesmen*,' vol. ii. p. 197.)

In 1615 Wentworth was appointed to the office of *custos rotulorum* for the west riding of the county of York, in the room of Sir John Savile; an office of which Savile attempted to deprive him about two years after, through the influence of the favourite, Buckingham, but without success, though he succeeded afterwards. The result was a feud between Wentworth and the Saviles, the father and son, Sir John Savile the younger, afterwards Lord Savile.

In 1621 Wentworth was again returned to parliament for the county of York; and this time he brought in Sir George Calvert, one of the secretaries of state, along with him. In Michaelmas term he removed his family from Wentworth Woodhouse to London. He took up his abode in Austin Friars, where in 1622 he had a "great fever." When he began to recover he removed, about July, to Bow, where shortly after his wife the Lady Margaret died. On the 24th of February, 1625, he married the Lady Arabella Hollis, a younger daugh-

ter of the Earl of Clare, a lady, observes Radcliffe, "exceeding comely and beautiful, and yet much more lovely in the endowments of her mind."

Hitherto, though Wentworth had not taken a very prominent part in the proceedings of parliament, still he was considered to have acted with the party that opposed the court, as appears from the fact of his being, on the eve of the calling together of a new parliament, among the number of those whom Buckingham attempted to disable from serving, by having them pricked sheriffs of their respective counties. In November, 1625, Wentworth was made sheriff of Yorkshire. A passage from one of his letters at this time shows that he was never inclined to go the lengths that some others did in resistance to the royal prerogative. ('Strafford's Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 33.)

In May, 1627, he was committed a prisoner to the Marshalsea by the lords of the council for refusing the royal loan; and about six weeks after, his imprisonment was exchanged for confinement at the town of Dartford in Kent, from which place he was not to go above two miles. About Christmas he was released; and shortly after the third parliament of Charles began, in which Wentworth served as knight for Yorkshire. Wentworth had now resolved to make the court party more aware of the extent of his talents than they yet appeared to be. On the discussion of the general question of grievances he spoke with an ability and spirit which proved to them that he might turn out such an enemy, that he was worth having as a friend. It has been usual to speak of Wentworth as an apostate: but he never appears to have been at heart on the popular, or rather the parliamentary side. His whole conduct, both before and after he became the king's minister, shows that he considered the general movement in modern Europe to be not towards democracy, but towards the establishment of absolute monarchy. The several springs of Wentworth's conduct are now fully laid bare in a manner that they could hardly be to his contemporaries, and in a manner that few men's have ever been to after-ages, by the publica-

tion of the two large folio volumes of his 'Letters and Dispatches,' one of the most valuable collections of papers, both in a political and historical point of view, ever made public. In that collection there are two letters (Strafford, 'Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. pp. 34, 35) to Sir Richard Weston, chancellor of the exchequer, containing very unequivocal overtures, the non-acceptance of which at the time would seem to have produced the indignant outbreak of patriotic eloquence above alluded to.

In June, 1628, the parliament ended. In July, Sir Thomas Wentworth, having been reconciled to Buckingham, was created Baron Wentworth. The death of Buckingham, soon after, removed the only obstacle to higher honours. In Michaelmas term he was made Viscount Wentworth, Lord President of the North, and a privy councillor.

The establishment of the Council of the North originated in the frequent northern rebellions which followed Henry VIII.'s suppression of the lesser monasteries, and extended over the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham. The commission, though apparently only one of oyer and terminer, contained a clause authorising the commissioners to hear all causes real and personal, when either of the parties was poor, and decide according to sound discretion. This clause was declared by all the judges to be illegal. James issued a new commission, by which the commissioners were not ordered to inquire "*per sacramentum bonorum et legalium hominum*" (by the oath of good and lawful men), or to be controlled by forms of law, but were merely referred to certain secret instructions which were sent down to the council. Against this, however, the judges had the courage to protest, and to issue prohibitions on demand to the president and council; and the instructions were ordered to be enrolled, that the people might have some chance of knowing them.

Dr. Knowler, the editor of the 'Strafford Papers,' in the adulatory dedication of them to his patron, the grand-

son of the Earl of Strafford, gravely observes that "Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was a true friend to episcopal government in the church, and to a limited monarchy in the state, could have no reason, when the Petition of Right was granted, to refuse to bear his share of toil and pains in the service of the public, or to withstand the offer of those honours his majesty was graciously pleased to make him, especially when it gave him an opportunity of setting an example of a wise and just and steady administration." Wentworth's acceptance of the office of president of this council was a flagrant violation of the fundamental principle of the Petition of Right. His career in the office too did not belie the promise of its acceptance. One of his first acts was to declare that he would lay any man by the heels who ventured to sue out a prohibition in the courts at Westminster. (Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 159.) And one of the judges (Vernon), who had the courage to resist these encroachments on the ancient laws of the land, Wentworth tried hard to have removed from his office. (Strafford, 'Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. pp. 129, 130.) Indeed, like his friend and coadjutor Laud, Wentworth never let slip an opportunity of expressing his bitter dislike of the interference of the judges and common lawyers with his scheme of governing, not by the laws of England, but according to "sound discretion."

In January, 1631, Wentworth was made lord deputy of Ireland. The principle on which he set about governing there was in substance the same as that of his government in the presidency of York. "These lawyers," he writes to the lord marshal, "would monopolise to themselves all judicature, as if no honour or justice could be rightly administered but under one of their bencher's gowns." (Strafford, 'Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 223.) And he adds, a line or two after, "Therefore if your lordship's judgment approve of my reasons, I beseech you to assist me therein, or rather the king's service, and I shall be answerable with my head."

It is remarkable how frequently he alludes to this last as the test of the soundness of the policy of his measures.

They were in the end so tested, and being found wanting, he was taken at his word; he was called upon to pay, and paid the forfeit. One of the principal means by which Wentworth sought to squeeze money out of the people of Ireland was by holding a parliament.

Wentworth's political economy was not very sound, yet he saw far enough to discover that to enrich the king, the way was, to begin by enriching the people. "For this is a ground," he says, "I take with me, that to serve your majesty completely well in Ireland we must not only endeavour to enrich *them*, but make sure still to hold them dependent upon the crown, and not able to subsist without *us*." ('Strafford's Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 93.) But the plan he proposed does not seem certainly very well adapted for enriching the people. "Which will be effected," he proceeds, "by wholly laying aside the manufacture of wools into cloth or stuff there, and by furnishing them from this kingdom; and then making your majesty sole merchant of all salts on that side; for thus shall they not only have their clothing, the improvement of all their native commodities (which are principally preserved by salt), and their victual itself from hence (strong ties and enforcements upon their allegiance and obedience to your majesty); but a means found, I trust, much to advance your majesty's revenue upon salt, and to improve your customs. The wools there grown, and the cloths there worn, thus paying double duties to your crown in both kingdoms; and the salt outward here, both inward and outward there." He thus sums up the advantages of the measures proposed:—"Holding them from the manufacture of wool (which, unless otherwise directed, I shall by all means discourage), and thus enforcing them to fetch their clothing from thence, and to take their salt from the king (being that which preserves and gives value to all their native staple commodities), how can they depart from us without nakedness and beggary? Which in itself is so weighty a consideration, as a small profit should not bear it down." ('Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 193.)

In one particular he did benefit Ireland. At his own risk he imported and sowed a quantity of superior flax-seed. The first crop having succeeded, he next year laid out 1000*l.* on the undertaking, set up a number of looms, procuring workmen from France and Flanders, and sent a ship to Spain freighted with linen at his own risk. Thus began the linen manufacture of Ireland, which in some measure verified Wentworth's prediction that it would greatly benefit that country. (Strafford, 'Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 473.)

Wentworth appears to have been of very infirm health, which, taken with the general course of his education and his position in society, will in part account for the acerbity and irritability of temper, and the impatience of any opposition to his will, which throughout his career involved him in so many personal quarrels. The number of powerful personal enemies which Wentworth thus arrayed against himself appears to us to be a proof of the want of real political talent of a high order. A really wise politician, such as Oliver Cromwell for example, does not raise up such a host of powerful personal enemies. Laud gives a good hint about this in one of his letters. "And yet, my lord," he says, "if you could find way do all these great services and decline these storms, I think it would be excellent well thought on." (Strafford, 'Letters and Dispatches,' vol. i. p. 479.)

In 1639 Charles raised Wentworth to the dignity of an earl, which he had in vain solicited formerly. He was created Earl of Strafford and Baron of Raby, and invested with the title of lord-lieutenant, or lieutenant-general of Ireland—a title which had not been borne since the time of Essex.

In 1640 the earl of Northumberland being attacked by severe illness, the king appointed Strafford in his place, to the command of the army against the Scots. He does not appear to have performed anything here to make good either his own high pretensions or the character for valour given him by some writers. Of his impeachment at the opening of the Long Parliament,

Clarendon gives the following account :—" It was about three of the clock in the afternoon [of November 11, 1640] when the Earl of Strafford (being infirm, and not well-disposed in health, and so not having stirred out of his house that morning), hearing that both houses still sate, thought fit to go thither. It was believed by some (upon what ground was never clear enough) that he made that haste there to accuse the Lord Say, and some others, of having induced the Scots to invade the kingdom ; but he was scarce entered into the House of Peers, when the message from the House of Commons was called in, and when Mr. Pym at the bar, and in the name of all the Commons of England, impeached Thomas, earl of Strafford (with the addition of all his other titles), of high treason."

On the 25th of November (1640), at a conference between the two houses in reference to the subject of this impeachment, Mr. Pym made a speech, in which he attempted, with considerable though unsuccessful ingenuity, to prove that the earl of Strafford was guilty of treason, on the ground that " other treasons are against the rule of the law, but this is against the being of the law." The laws against treason in England having been made to protect the king, not the subject, it would be in vain to look in the Statute of Treasons, the 25th Edward III. st. 5, c. 2, which at that time constituted the English law of treason (the statutes of Henry VIII., making so many new treasons, having been repealed by 1 Mary, c. 1), for any definition or description, or even any mention of that of which Strafford was accused, viz., an attempt to increase the power of the king, and to depress that of a subject. Pym was partly aware of this, and he endeavoured to meet it by saying that this treason, of which he speaks, " is enlarged beyond the limits of any description or definition." But though it was not to be supposed or expected that the Statute of Treasons of Edward III. (25 Edward III. st. 5, c. 2), being made to protect the king, not the subject, would provide specially for the punishment of such attempts as those of Strafford ; it does nevertheless appear that Strafford was

punishable for having become the instrument for administering the government of the Council of the North, carried on in direct violation of the Petition of Right, which during the time of Strafford's being president of that council was the law of the land. However the Commons changed their course and introduced a bill of attainder, which was passed on the 21st of April, in the Commons, and soon after in the Lords. The king with tears in his eyes, and other demonstrations of weakness characteristic of him, signed a commission for giving the royal assent to the bill, and then made some feeble and unavailing efforts to save the life of his obnoxious minister. "The resort to the bill of attainder," observes Mr. Forster ('Life of Strafford,' p. 404), "arose from no failure of the impeachment, as has been frequently alleged, but because in the course of that impeachment circumstances arose which suggested to the great leader of the popular cause the greater safety of fixing this case upon wider grounds. Without stretching to the slightest extent the boundaries of any statute, they thought it better at once to bring Strafford's treason to the condemnation of the sources of all law."

Strafford was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 12th of May, 1641. In his walk from the Tower to the place of execution his step and manner are described by Rushworth as being those of "a general marching at the head of an army, to breathe victory, rather than those of a condemned man, to undergo the sentence of death." Within a few weeks after his death, the parliament mitigated the penalties of their sentence to his children. In the succeeding reign, the attainder was reversed, and his son was restored to the earldom.



JOHN HAMPDEN, one of the most distinguished of the patriots of England, was the head and representative of an ancient and opulent family, which had received the lands of Hampden, in Buckinghamshire, from Edward the Confessor, and boasted to have transmitted its wealth, honours, and influence, unimpaired and increasing, in direct male succession, down to this the most illustrious name of the house. He was the eldest son of William Hampden, of Hampden, and of his wife Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke, in Huntingdonshire, and aunt of the Protector, Cromwell. John Hampden was born in London in 1594, and at the age of three years came, by the death of his father, into possession of the family estates, which, besides the ancient seat and extensive domain in Buckinghamshire, comprehended large possessions in Essex, Oxfordshire, and Berkshire. He was brought up at the free grammar-school of Thame, in Oxfordshire;

entered as a commoner at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1609; and was admitted student of the Inner Temple in 1613, where he made considerable progress in the knowledge of common law. His classical attainments also seem to have been respectable, since he was associated, oddly enough, with Laud, then Master of St. John's, in writing the Oxford gratulatory poems on the marriage of the Elector Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth; from which sprung Prince Rupert, who led the Royalist troops when Hampden received his death-wound. In 1619 he married, at Pyrton, in Oxfordshire, his first wife Elizabeth Symeon, only daughter of Edward Symeon. Inheriting a noble property, he devoted himself, without suffering his literary habits to fall into desuetude, principally to the business and amusements of a country life, having, says Lord Clarendon, "on a sudden retired from a life of great pleasure and license, to extraordinary sobriety and strictness, and yet retained his usual cheerfulness and affability." His first entrance into public life was in January, 1620-1, when he took his seat in the Parliament then convened, for Grampound, at that time a borough of wealth and importance: a prevalent error, that he sat for the first time in the first Parliament summoned by Charles I. in 1625, is corrected Lord Nugent, who in his 'Memorials' of Hampden has shown that he sat in the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624; that he was active and diligent in his attendance, and intimately connected himself with Selden, Pym, St. John, and other leaders of the popular party; and that, though he seldom spoke, his capacity for business was known and respected, as appears from the employments in committees and conferences imposed on him by the House.

In the first Parliament of Charles I., Hampden sat for Wendover, an ancient borough of Buckinghamshire, which with two others had lately regained their dormant privilege of returning members, chiefly by his exertions and at his expense. In this and in the following Parliament summoned in February, 1627, Hampden still appears to have taken no leading part; but his influence, both in and out of parliament, gradually increased, espe-

cially in his native county of Buckingham. After the dissolution of the latter parliament, Charles began to put in force his threat of raising supplies by unusual means, and required a general loan, to which Hampden was called upon to contribute. This he refused to do, and was in consequence imprisoned for a time in the Gate House, and then sent, still under restraint, to reside in Hampshire. The order for his release, with seventy-six others, is dated March, 1627-8. On this occasion, he made the remarkable reply to the demand, why he would not contribute to the king's necessities, that "he could be content to lend as well as others, but feared to draw upon himself that curse in Magna Charta, which should be read twice a-year against those who infringe it."

In the new Parliament which met in March, 1628, Hampden again sat for Wendover, and having become more generally known by the part which he had taken in resisting the demands of the crown, from this time forward, says Lord Nugent, "scarcely was a bill prepared, or an inquiry begun, upon any subject, however remotely affecting any one of the three great matters at issue—privilege, religion, or the supplies—but he was thought fit to be associated with St. John, Selden, Coke, and Pym, on the committee."

That Parliament, after framing the Petition of Right, voting supplies, and taking resolute steps towards procuring a redress of grievances, was hastily and angrily dissolved in May, 1629. Previous to this, Hampden, "although retaining his seat for Wendover, had retired to his estate in Buckinghamshire, to live in entire privacy, without display, but not inactive; contemplating from a distance the madness of the Government, the luxury and insolence of the courtiers, and the portentous apathy of the people, who, amazed by the late measures, and by the prospect of uninterruptedly increasing violence, saw no hope from petition or complaint, and watched, in confusion and silence, the inevitable advance of an open rupture between the King and the Parliament. The literary acquirements of his youth he now carefully improved; increasing that stock of general knowledge which had

already gained him the reputation of being one of the most learned and accomplished men of his age ; and directing his attention chiefly to writers on history and politics. Davila's ' History of the Civil Wars of France ' became his favourite study, his *vade-mecum*, as Sir Philip Warwick styles it ; as if, forecasting from afar the course of the storm which hung over his own country, he already saw the sad parallel it was likely to afford to the story of that work. In his retirement, he bent the whole force of his capacious mind to the most effectual means by which the abuses of ecclesiastical authority were to be corrected, and the tide of headlong prerogative checked, whenever the slumbering spirit of the country should be roused to deal with those duties to which he was preparing to devote himself." (' Memorials of Hampden,' p. 175.) It may here be added that Hampden's religious opinions were those of the Independent party, who were honourably distinguished, no less from the Presbyterians than the Episcopalians, by granting to all persons that freedom of conscience and full toleration which they claimed for themselves. While thus awaiting, with study and patient observation, the time when the active service of a real patriot might benefit his country, his domestic happiness received a severe blow by the death of his wife, August 20, 1634. She left nine children, three sons and six daughters.

In the same autumn the scheme of raising a revenue by ship-money was devised. Confined in the first instance to sea-port towns, it proved so profitable, that the levy was soon extended to inland places. In 1636 the charge was laid, by order of council, upon all counties, cities, and corporate towns, and the sheriffs were required, in case of refusal or delay, to proceed by distress. Here Hampden resolved to make a stand. The sum demanded of him was but thirty-one shillings and sixpence ; but the very smallness of the sum served to show that his opposition was directed against the principle of the exaction, and rested on no ground of personal inconvenience or individual injustice. In 1637, proceedings being instituted in the Exchequer for recovery of the money, the

case was solemnly argued for twelve days in the Exchequer chamber before the twelve judges, who severally delivered their opinions, and by a majority of eight to four determined in favour of the crown. "But the judgment," says Lord Clarendon, "infinitely more advanced him, Mr. Hampden, than the service for which it was given. He was rather of reputation in his own county, than of public discourse or fame in the kingdom, before the business of ship-money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who or what he was that durst at his own charge support the liberty and property of the country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage throughout this agitation was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony."

These measures, which placed at the king's disposal the property of the country, were accompanied by equally stringent attacks on its liberties. Tutored by the lofty spirit of Wentworth, Charles resolved, and seemed likely to succeed, to rule independently of Parliaments; and in the sycophancy of the judges, and the unlimited and illegal severities of the courts of the Star-Chamber and High Commission, he had ample means of suppressing murmur and punishing the refractory. We need not dwell upon the state to which the country was reduced, during the eleven years which elapsed without the meeting of a Parliament: so unpromising did it appear, that even the most resolute of that party comprehended by the Royalists under the general name of Puritans had already begun to withdraw from the tyranny of the court. The government, in various ways, had rendered itself so odious, that thousands of men of all ranks had already separated themselves from their native land, and twelve millions of property was said to have been thus withdrawn from the country. These emigrations, however, were forbidden by an order in council, dated April 6, 1638, by which masters of ships were prohibited to carry passengers to America, without special licence. It has

often been dwelt on as a very remarkable circumstance, that Hampden, his cousin Oliver Cromwell, and Pym, were at this time actually embarked for New England on board one of eight ships then lying in the river Thames and freighted with emigrants, and that these eight ships were specially ordered to be detained.

A dawn of better times appeared, when in consequence of the king's rash attempt to impose the English ritual upon Scotland, and restore Episcopacy, that country rose in rebellion. The expenses of the war rendered it imperative to obtain supplies; and Charles, fearing at this juncture to resort to fresh impositions, saw no resource except in summoning that which is commonly called the Short Parliament, which met in April, 1640. Hampden was returned for Buckinghamshire. About this time he had married his second wife, Letitia Vachell, daughter of Mr. Vachell, of Coley, near Reading, in Berkshire, but the quiet happiness of his home was henceforth entirely broken up by the disturbances of the times, and he never returned to any settled residence at his paternal mansion. In the short and energetic session of this spring he displayed his usual diligence and activity; and his influence was much increased in consequence of his resistance to the demand of ship-money, which had attracted such notice, that Clarendon, in speaking of the opening of the Long Parliament, in November following, observes, "The eyes of all men were fixed upon him as their Pater Patriæ, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded his power and interest, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt, than any man in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath held in any time; for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them."

The causes of the dissolution of the Short Parliament, and the history of the second Scottish war which compelled Charles I. to summon the Long Parliament, hardly form a part of our subject: it is to be observed, however, that during the summer and autumn, Hampden,

with other leading persons of the popular party, was engaged in active correspondence with the leaders of the Scottish insurrection, in whose success, as tending to the further embarrassment of the king, they placed their best hope of obtaining security for the maintenance of the liberties and privileges of the English people. Of the first great act of that Parliament, the impeachment of Strafford, he was a zealous supporter, and a member of the committee of twelve appointed to arrange the evidence, and to conduct that memorable trial. After the Commons, for reasons which have never been satisfactorily explained, thought fit to change the method of proceeding by introducing a bill of attainder, the name of Hampden appears in none of the records; and it is probable that he abstained from taking any part in the business. It is important to keep this in mind, because the censure which has justly been cast upon the proceedings of the House of Commons against Lord Strafford applies solely to the attainder, not to the impeachment. To the question, why, if Hampden disapproved of the attainder, he did not as resolutely oppose it as he had supported the impeachment, the following hypothetical answer is supplied by Lord Nugent:—"In a case doubtful to him only as matter of precedent, but clear to him in respect of the guilt of the accused person; in a case in which the accused person, in his estimation, deserved death, and in which all law, except that of the sceptre and the sword, was at an end, if he had escaped it; when all the ordinary protection of law to the subject throughout the country was suspended, and suspended mainly by the counsels of Strafford himself, Hampden was not prepared to heroically immolate the liberties of England in order to save the life of him who would have destroyed them. Hampden probably considered the bill which took away Strafford's life (and indeed it must in fairness be so considered) as a revolutionary act undertaken for the defence of the Commonwealth."

He was an active supporter of two important measures which occupied the Parliament simultaneously with Strafford's impeachment, the Triennial Bill, for securing

the convocation of Parliaments, and the bill for excluding bishops from the House of Lords. After the rejection of the latter, he adopted the views of that more violent party who urged the necessity of abolishing Episcopacy altogether. But, notwithstanding his recognised position as a leader of his party, and his known weight in determining the line of conduct to be pursued by it, he was not a frequent speaker, and his name therefore occurs less frequently than would be expected in the records of this eventful period. "His practice was usually to reserve himself until near the close of a debate; and then, having watched its progress, to endeavour to moderate the redundancies of his friends, to weaken the impression produced by its opponents, to confirm the timid, and to reconcile the reluctant. And this he did, according to the testimony of his opponents themselves, with a modesty, gentleness, and apparent diffidence in his own judgment, which generally brought men round to his conclusions." ('*Memorials of Hampden*,' ii. 47.) He was one of the five members accused of treason, and who were demanded by Charles in person in the House of Commons, January 6, 1642, "and from this time," says Clarendon, "his nature and carriage seemed much fiercer than it did before." Unquestionably the ill-advised step was not likely to conciliate those whose life was aimed at, but it is also clear that before that event the party with whom he acted were preparing for a struggle more serious than that in which they were as yet engaged. A Committee of Public Safety was formed, of which Hampden was a member, the power of the sword was claimed by the Ordinance of Militia, the king on his part issued his Commission of Array, and at last raised his standard at Nottingham, August 22, 1642.

In the military events of the first year of the war Hampden took an active but subordinate share, as colonel of a regiment of infantry which he himself raised in Buckinghamshire. Nor did he intermit, as the exigencies of war allowed him, to continue his attendance in Parliament, and to urge there that decisive course of action which he knew to be necessary to the success of

the cause, and which he laboured in vain to impress upon the Earl of Essex, the Parliamentary general. At the battle of Brentford, his troops, and those of Lord Brook, in support of the London regiment under Hollis, bore the brunt of the day against superior numbers, until the army arrived from London in the evening; and on this occasion (as before at Edge Hill, where he arrived too late to take part in the fight) he in vain urged Essex to convert, by a decisive forward movement, the doubtful issue of the day into a victory. During the winter months, while the king held his court at Oxford, and a Parliamentary army lay between London and that city, Hampden's regiment was quartered in Buckinghamshire, and his own time was divided between the seat of war and the House of Commons.

To this period also is to be referred the association of six midland counties for the purposes of the war, Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Northampton; a step which proved of material service in giving strength and union to the Parliamentary cause, and which probably would not have been carried into operation but for Hampden's peculiar talent of allaying jealousies, reconciling conflicting interests, and smoothing away the obstacles to any business which he undertook.

From March 1, to April 15, 1643, a cessation of arms was agreed to in Oxfordshire and Bucks, while an attempt was made to arrange terms of pacification. This treaty having been broken off, war recommenced with an incessant and generally successful series of predatory incursions, conducted by Prince Rupert, on the Parliamentary outposts, which lay widely dispersed in the intricate country on the borders of Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. In this district, with which his early habits of the chase had made him familiar, Hampden's regiment was quartered. He had laboured incessantly, but in vain, to promote some great enterprise, which might give lustre to the seemingly declining cause, and confidence to the adherents of the Parliament. Failing in this, he manifested no less alacrity in performing his duty than if his views and his suggestions had been adopted: indeed

it would be consonant to his character to suppose, that a strict sense of what is due to military discipline, and a desire to avoid even the appearance of slighting his commanding officer, led him to still more zealous exertions. It was in a matter beyond the strict line of his duty that he received his death-wound. On the evening of the 17th of June, Rupert set out from Oxford with about 2000 men, and surprised and burnt two villages, Postcombe and Chinnor, which were occupied by the Parliamentary troops. When the alarm reached Hampden, he instantly set out at the head of a small party of cavalry, which volunteered to follow him, in hopes of being able to delay the Royalists sufficiently to enable Essex to occupy the passes of the Cherwell, and cut them off from Oxford. Strengthened by the accession of four troops of horse, he overtook Prince Rupert, who drew up to receive the attack on Chalgrove-field, June 18, 1643. Early in the action Hampden received two bullets in the shoulder, which shattered the bone, and in an agony of pain he rode off the field; "a thing," says Clarendon, "he never used to do, and from which it was concluded he was hurt." Two others of the chief Parliamentary officers present were killed or taken, and the Royalists made good their retreat. Hampden expired at Thame, in Oxfordshire, after six days' severe suffering. His last words are thus given from a contemporary publication:—"O Lord God of Hosts, great is thy mercy, just and holy are thy dealings unto us sinful men. Save me, O Lord, if it be thy good will, from the jaws of death. Pardon my manifold transgressions; O Lord, save my bleeding country. Have these realms in thy especial keeping. Confound and level in the dust those who would rob the people of their liberty and lawful prerogative. Let the king see his error, and turn the hearts of his wicked counsellors from the malice and wickedness of their designs. Lord Jesu, receive my soul!" He then mournfully uttered, "O Lord, save my country—O Lord, be merciful to" . . . and here his speech failed him. He fell back in the bed, and expired.

. His death, according to Sir Philip Warwick, was re-

gretted even by the king, "who looked on his interest, if he could gain his affections, as a powerful means of begetting a right understanding between him and the two Houses." To his own party it was irreparable. It removed the fittest person for the chief command of their troops, which it is not unreasonable to suppose would, upon the removal of Essex, have been vested in him; deprived them of a leader and adviser, who, of all, was the most likely to have confined his wishes to the establishment of a secure peace, on the basis of a strictly limited monarchy; and opened the way to the ambition of Cromwell, which probably would never have been developed if Hampden had lived to direct the counsels of the Parliament.

A portion of Lord Clarendon's character of Hampden has already been given from the 'History of the Rebellion,' book vii. As to the estimation in which he was held by his countrymen, Clarendon says, "The eyes of all men were fixed upon him as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his power and interest at that time were greater to do good or hurt than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time; for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided that no corrupt or private ends would bias them."

Of his ability as a public speaker, Clarendon says, "He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and under the notion of doubts insinuating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them." "He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed of the most absolute spirit of popularity and the most absolute faculties to govern the people of any man I ever knew." "After he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was

much altered, his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than they did before ; and without question when he first drew the sword he threw away the scabbard." Of his personal character and habits Clarendon says, " He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious, and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle and sharp, and of a personal courage equal to his best parts ; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend ; and as much to be apprehended where he was so as any man could deserve to be." " What was said of Cinna might well be applied to him, ' He had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a head to execute any mischief.' " Clarendon thought that Hampden was engaged in a mischievous cause ; those who thought and think differently, instead of ' any mischief ' would write ' any benefit.' The political bias of Clarendon is obvious enough, but the character, of which we have only selected certain portions, is drawn with much discrimination and skill.

A later and more elaborate account of this eminent patriot has been given by Lord Nugent, from which the greater part of our memoir is derived. But the memoirs and pamphlets of the time must be intimately studied by those who wish for full information concerning Hampden's parliamentary life.



THE history of Laud is in a manner the history both of church and state in England for some twenty or more most memorable years ; and if it were to be written with a copiousness corresponding to the quantity of the materials, volumes on volumes might be filled with it. Indeed it does actually stand recorded in several folios. Besides State Trials, and Parliamentary History, and Strafford Letters, and other collections of State Papers, in which he fills much space, there is the history of his 'Life and Death' in one folio volume, by Dr. Peter Heylin, and that of his 'Troubles and Trial' in another, considerably larger, edited from his own papers by the learned Henry Wharton. We have his own Diary, besides many of his letters, and a mass of other authentic documents. The facts of the greater part of his history therefore are before us in extraordinary distinctness. Whatever we may think of him, there he is, the man and his acts, still, if we choose, almost as plainly to be

seen by us as by his contemporaries. Some things respecting him, indeed, we know better than they did. His life was more than most lives passed in the light, and few have had the light so unsparingly let in upon them as he has had even in his deepest privacies. We have his written words intended only for the eye of the most intimate friendship, or for no eye but his own. We ought not to forget, in judging him, this trying ordeal through which it has been his fate to be made to pass.

Curiously enough, in all this plentiful supply of information, nobody appears to know the Christian name of Laud's father. Laud himself has not recorded it in his own Diary, which begins by telling us merely that he was born on the 7th of October, 1573, at Reading, as if he had been literally an *autochthon, terræ filius*, or "gum of the earth," as one of his brother bishops, Field of Llandaff, calls himself in a begging letter to the universal patron the Duke of Buckingham, which is preserved in the Cabala, and is one of the greatest curiosities which have come down to us from that age. "Myself, a gum of the earth," says Field insinuatingly, "whom some eight years ago you raised out of the dust for raising but a thought so high as to serve your highness." But Laud was not of this self-abasing temper. He had no pleasure in looking back from his elevated fortunes upon the comparative humility of his origin. His biographer Heylin tells us that the libellers, who no doubt knew what would sting him, used frequently to upbraid him in the days of his greatness with his mean birth. Once Heylin found him walking in his garden at Lambeth "with more than ordinary trouble in his countenance," "of which," continues our author, "not having confidence enough to inquire the reason, he showed me a paper in his hand, and told me it was a printed sheet of a scandalous libel which had been stopped at the press, in which he found himself reproached with so base a parentage as if he had been raked out of the dunghill; adding withal, that though he had not the good fortune to be born a gentleman, yet he thanked God he had been born of honest parents, who lived in a plentiful con-

dition, employed many poor people in their way, and left a good report behind him." After some little time, seeing his countenance beginning to clear up, ready Heylin told him the story of Pope Sixtus the Fifth, who used to say that he was *domo natus illustri*, "because the sunbeams, passing through the broken walls and ragged roof, *illustrated* every corner of that homely cottage in which he was born." The Latin words, which would be naturally translated *born of an illustrious house or family*, will also bear this other interpretation, however strange it may sound to the English reader. And the facetious anecdote, thus aptly applied, quite succeeded, we are assured, in restoring the equanimity of the ruffled prelate.

Laud's father, whatever was his name, was a master cloth-worker, and is described as having been well to do in the world. "He kept," says Heylin, "not only many looms in his house, but many weavers, spinners, and fullers at continual work; living in good esteem and reputation amongst his neighbours to the very last." His son, named William, was his only child; but his wife had been married before to another Reading clothier, John Robinson, by whom she had had a family. She was a Lucy Webb, sister to Sir William Webb, who was lord mayor of London in 1591. Of her children by Robinson, half-brothers and half-sisters of the archbishop, his biographer mentions a William, the youngest son, who became a doctor of divinity, prebend of Westminster, and archdeacon of Nottingham; and two daughters, married, the one to a Dr. Cotsford, the other to a Dr. Layfield. It is possible that these relations of Laud's may have prospered the better in the world for their connection with him; but his uncle at least, the lord mayor, had made his way to eminence long before the great churchman had got upon the ladder of preferment. It is more likely that he may have been of service to some later Webbs and Robinsons: Heylin speaks of a grandson of the lord mayor, also a Sir William Webb, as having died not long before he wrote, that is to say, perhaps, about the time of the Restoration; and his book, pub-

lished posthumously, in 1671, is dedicated by his son to a Sir John Robinson, Bart., his majesty's lieutenant of the Tower of London, who is addressed as nearly related to the subject of it, and who may therefore be presumed to have been a descendant of Laud's mother's first husband.

Laud, who appears to have been designed for the church from his boyhood, was sent first to the free grammar-school of his native town; whence, in July, 1589, before he was sixteen, "which," Heylin remarks, "was very early for those times," he was sent to Oxford, and entered a commoner of St. John's. Here his tutor was Mr. Buckridge, one of the fellows, a zealous opponent of Puritanism, which had troubled the church almost from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, and, for all that could be done to keep it down, was evidently enough growing stronger every day. Buckridge's teaching was not thrown away upon Laud.

The events noted in his Diary for the next ten or twelve years are: that he was chosen a scholar of his college in June, 1590, and admitted a fellow in June, 1593; that his father died on Wednesday, 11th April, 1594; that he proceeded bachelor of arts in June of that year; that in 1596 he had a great sickness, and in 1597 another (he had also been brought to death's door by an illness in his infancy); that in July, 1598, he took his degree of master of arts, and the same year was grammar reader; that at the end of that year he fell into another great sickness; that his mother died 24th November, 1600; that on the 4th of January, 1601, he was ordained deacon, and priest on the 5th of April thereafter.

He had already obtained a considerable academic reputation, and, having been admitted in 1602 to read a divinity lecture then maintained in his college, in which he acquitted himself to general satisfaction, he became next year a candidate for the proctorship of the university, and obtained it. In this year, 1603, Heylin says he publicly maintained, either in his divinity lecture or in some other chapel exercise, his famous doctrine of the perpetual visibility of the church, as derived from the

Apostles to the Church of Rome, and continued in that church till the Reformation. The proclamation of these opinions brought him at once into open collision with the dominant party in the University, headed by Dr. George Abbot, Master of University College (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), who was then vice-chancellor. Abbot did not profess to deny the constant visibility of the church, or the apostolical succession; but he held a different theory of it, "tracing it," says Heylin contemptuously, "as well as he could from the Berengarians to the Albigenses, from the Albigenses to the Wickliffists, from the Wickliffists unto the Hussites, and from the Hussites unto Luther and Calvin." From the two systems sprung what were called High Church and Low Church principles and parties at a later date. Heylin affirms, on the authority of Laud himself, that he was so violently persecuted by Abbot, and so openly branded by him for a papist, or at least one very popishly inclined, "that it was almost made an heresy for any one to be seen in his company, and a misprision of heresy for any one to give him a civil salutation as he walked the streets." He had followed up his lecture or sermon of 1603 by maintaining the next year, in his exercise for bachelor of divinity, the necessity both of baptism and of bishops, and again by a sermon preached in St. Mary's church on the 21st of October, 1606, for which he was called to account by Dr. Airy, then vice-chancellor, as being in some passages a declaration of downright popery; "the good man," says Heylin, "taking all things to be matter of popery which were not held forth unto him in Calvin's *Institutes*."

But shortly before this Laud had got into a scrape of another kind. Under the year 1605 we find him noting in his Diary: "My cross about the Earl of Devon's marriage," with a very particular specification of the day, as the 26th of December, a Thursday. He had, in September, 1603, been made chaplain to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, recently created Earl of Devon; and had been persuaded on that St. Stephen's day two years after to solemnize a marriage between his noble patron

and the beautiful Lady Rich, divorced from the Lord Rich for adultery with the earl. It is quite clear, whatever Heylin may endeavour to make out, that herein Laud acted against his principles, or convictions of what was right; he confesses as much in the penitential prayer which his apologist quotes: "Behold," he there says, "I am become a reproach to thy holy name, by serving my ambition and the sins of others; which though I did by the persuasion of other men, yet my own conscience did check and upbraid me in it." There can be no reasonable doubt that, in consistency with the rest of his theological system, he held the doctrine of the absolute indissolubility of the sacrament of marriage, and he must therefore be considered to have performed that solemnity between Lord Devon and Lady Rich, and so sanctioned their living together, while he believed her to be the wife of another man. He was afterwards accustomed to observe the festival of St. Stephen as a day of fasting and humiliation; but even from the account of his eulogistic biographer it would rather appear that he did not arrive at this clear sense of his fault till after all his expectations from his noble patron had been brought to an end by the earl's death, which took place before the end of the following year.

Notwithstanding his repentance, too, the affair was long a standing reproach against him, and, his biographer intimates, materially retarded his preferment. Yet he cannot be said to have been entirely neglected. In November, 1607, he was inducted into the vicarage of Stamford, in Northamptonshire; the advowson of North Kilworth, in Leicestershire, was given to him, as he records, in April, 1608, in which year he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, and became chaplain to Neile, Bishop of Rochester; in 1609 he exchanged North Kilworth for West Tilbury, in Essex, to be near his new patron; and in September of the same year he made his *début* as a courtier, by preaching before the king at Theobalds. In May, 1610, his friend the Bishop of Rochester preferred him to the rectory of Cuckstone, in Kent, which he exchanged in November for Norton, in the

same county, as a healthier residence. Meanwhile Neile had in September been translated to Ilichfield, and in October Laud resigned his fellowship, "that so," says his biographer, "he might more fully apply himself to the service of his lord and patron, whose fortunes he was resolved to follow till God should please to provide otherwise for him." Neile had held the Deanery of Westminster *in commendam* with his late bishopric; and before resigning it he obtained for his friend, from the king, the reversion of a prebend in that church; "which," says Heylin, "though it fell not to him till ten years after, yet it fell at last, and thereby neighboured him to the court." But Neile's translation proved also immediately beneficial to Laud, for the new Bishop of Rochester was his old tutor and steady friend Buckridge, and he had influence, in spite of all that Abbot (now Bishop of London, and within a few months to be elevated to the primacy) could do to prevent it, to get Laud elected his successor in the presidentship of St. John's. He obtained this office in May, 1611, and in November of the same year he was sworn one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary. It is true that he appears also to have met with some crosses and disappointments in the course of these years; we read in his Diary of his "unfortunateness with T.;" and of his "next unfortunateness with E. M.;" and of a third "unfortunateness by S. B.;" with sundry other notices of stays, and troubles, and fits of sickness. The first entry, under date of 1612, is of another "unfortunateness by S. S.;" and the second, of another with A. D.; in January, 1613, began his "great business with G. B.," which "settled as it could in March;" and April, 1614, was signalized by the beginning of his "great misfortune by M. S.," and also by "a most fierce salt rheum" in his left eye, "like to have endangered it." But on the other side of the account we find him noting that in the same month his friend Neile, now Bishop of Lincoln, gave him the prebend of Bugden in that church. Heylin informs us that the bishop did this "to keep him up in heart and spirit," when he was sinking under the disappointment of his hopes of court preferment; for, it

seems, "whenever any opportunity was offered for his advancement, Archbishop Abbot would be sure to cast somewhat in his dish: sometimes inculcating to him (that is, objecting against him to the king) all his actings at Oxon, and sometimes rubbing up the old sore of his unfortunate business with the Earl of Devonshire." In his despair Laud was upon the point of returning to his college; but Neile prevailed with him to try one year longer, and, for further encouragement, in December, 1615, conferred upon him the archdeaconry of Huntingdon. At last, "before the year of expectation was fully ended," to adopt Heylin's words, "his majesty began to take him into his better thoughts, and for a testimony thereof bestowed upon him the deanery of Gloucester." The king gave him this in November, 1616; and he now resigned his parsonage of Tilbury.

In March, 1617, James set out on a visit to his native kingdom, his main object being to bring the Scots to conformity with the English model in regard to religion; "a matter," observes Heylin, "of consequence and weight, and therefore to be managed by able ministers, such as knew how to wind and turn the Presbyterians of that kingdom, if matters should proceed to a disputation." Laud, esteemed a person of eminent theological learning and polemical ability, was one of those selected to accompany his majesty; but when James came to Edinburgh, "he soon found," says Heylin, "that he might have saved himself a great part of his care, and taken such of his chaplains with him as came next to hand; the Presbyterian Scots not being to be gained by reason, as he had supposed. For he was scarce settled in that city, when the Presbyters, conceiving that his coming was upon design to work a uniformity between the churches of both kingdoms, set up one Struthers to preach against it, who laid so lustily about him in the chief church of Edinburgh, that he not only condemned the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, but prayed God to save Scotland from the same. Laud, and the rest of the chaplains who had heard the sermon, acquainted his majesty with those passages: but there was

no remedy: the Scots were Scots, and resolved to go their own way, whatsoever came of it." Laud returned in the autumn; and on his way home was inducted into the rectory of Ibstock, in the county of Leicester, a living in the patronage of his friend Bishop Buckridge, who let him have it in exchange for Norton.

He then rested as he was for some time. At last, in January, 1621, he came into the enjoyment of the prebendal stall in Westminster, of which he had secured the reversion ten years before. And greater things followed fast. His own statement is, that on the 3rd of June his majesty made a gracious speech to him concerning his long service, being pleased to say that he had given him nothing but Gloucester, which he well knew was a shell without a kernel; and that the sequel was his receiving a grant of the bishopric of St. David's on the 29th of the same month. But the most particular and curious account of the way in which the affair was managed is given in Bishop Hacket's 'Life of Archbishop Williams.' Williams, who was Dean of Westminster, had recently been made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and had soon after been raised to the Bishopric of Lincoln, holding his deanery *in commendam*, and retaining also his other preferments, of a prebend and residentiary canonship in the cathedral of Lincoln, and the rectory of Walgrave in Northamptonshire; "so that," as Heylin puts it, "he was a perfect diocese within himself; as being bishop, dean, prebend residentiary, and parson, and all these at once." Williams, in this the height of his court favour (for it was the king himself who had selected him for the great seal), was earnestly applied to by Buckingham, to whom Laud, like everybody else, had paid court, to commend the latter to his majesty. Buckingham's instructions to Williams were, not to fear giving offence in urging this suit, and not to desist for a little storm. Having watched his opportunity, "when the king's affections," says Hacker, "were most still and pacificous," Williams besought his majesty to think considerately of his chaplain the doctor, whose merits he urged with much earnestness. "Well," said the king, "I perceive whose

attorney you are; Stenny (Buckingham) hath set you on. You have pleaded the man a good Protestant, and I believe it; neither did that stick in my breast when I stopt his promotion. But was there not a certain lady that forsook her husband, and married a lord that was her paramour? Who tied that knot? Shall I make a man a prelate, one of the angels of my church, who hath a flagrant crime upon him?" Williams declared that the doctor was heartily penitent for his share in this transaction; besides, he asked James who would dare to serve him, good master as he was, if he would not pardon one fault, even if it should be of a scandalous magnitude? "You press well," replied his majesty, "and I hear you with patience; neither will I revive a trespass any more which repentance hath mortified and buried; and because I see I shall not be rid of you unless I tell you my unpublished cogitations, the plain truth is, that I keep Laud back from all place of rule and authority because I find he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain, which may endanger the steadfastness of that which is in a good pass, God be praised. I speak not at random; he hath made himself known to me to be such a one. For when, three years since, I had obtained of the Assembly of Perth to consent to five articles of order and decency in correspondence with this church of England, I gave them promise, by attestation of faith made, that I would try their obedience no farther in ecclesiastic affairs, nor put them out of their own way, which custom has made pleasing unto them, with any new encroachments. Yet this man hath pressed me to invite them to a nearer conjunction with the liturgy and canons of this nation; but I sent him back again with the frivolous draught he had drawn. . . . For all this, he feared not mine anger, but assaulted me again with another ill-fangled platform to make that stubborn kirk stoop more to the English pattern; but I durst not play fast and loose with my word. He knows not the stomach of that people; but I ken the story of my grandmother, the queen-regent, that,

after she was inveigled to break her promise, made to some mutineers at a Perth meeting, she never saw good day, but from thence, being much beloved before, was despised of all the people. And now your importunity hath compelled me to shrieve myself thus unto you, I think you are at your farthest, and have no more to say for your client." Williams, however, as he had been instructed, did not allow this characteristic oration to put him down; he still urged that Laud, notwithstanding "the very audacious and very unbecoming attempt" mentioned by his majesty, was "of a great and tractable wit," and if he fell into an error would, at least as soon as any man, find a way to get out of it. And his pertinacity was successful. James, impatiently asking if there was nothing he could say that was not to have its answer, exclaimed, "Here, take him to you, but on my soul you will repent it." "And so," concludes Hacket, "went away in anger, using other fierce and ominous words, which were divulged in the court, and are too tart to be repeated."

Thus was Laud at last made a bishop. He was formally elected by the chapter on the 10th of October, 1621, a few days after entering his forty-ninth year. The king had given him leave to hold the presidentship of St. John's *in commendam* with his bishopric; "but by reason," he writes in his Diary, "of the strictness of that statute, which I will not violate, nor my oath to it, under any colour, I am resolved before my consecration to leave it." And he did resign it accordingly. It is worth noticing, that Laud's great enemy Prynne, in the edition of the Diary which he very unhandsomely published in September, 1644, while the archbishop yet lived, had the dishonesty to omit all notice of this resignation; so that even Laud's biographer Heylin, who wrote before the Diary was published in its integrity by Wharton, in 1695, represents him as retaining his college office with his bishopric. Laud himself, with all his passion, precipitation, and short-sightedness, never committed anything so thoroughly base as this suppression of the truth by the great Puritan lawyer and patriot.

In the next year, 1622, Laud obtained much reputation by a conference or disputation which he maintained on the 24th of May, in presence of his majesty and other distinguished personages, with Fisher the Jesuit. Fisher had been for some time attempting to make a Roman Catholic of the Countess of Buckingham, mother of the duke (or rather marquis only, as yet); and it was apprehended that, if he should succeed, her son also would be very likely to go over to the old religion. But both at this public conference, at which the countess and the marquis were present, and in private discourse with the lady, Laud acquitted himself so ably as to satisfy her upon every point, and thus to avert what was looked upon by many as a serious national danger. Buckingham also from this time took him into his most intimate confidence. "Being Whit-Monday," he records, under date of June 9th, "my lord Marquess Buckingham was pleased to enter upon a near respect to me: the particulars are not for paper." And under June 15th he enters, "I became C. to my Lord of Buckingham" (meaning, it is supposed, confessor). All the notices in the Diary of this affair are carefully suppressed by Prynne, one of whose objects was to represent the archbishop as having been all his life a thorough papist. Laud himself published in 1624 an account of his argument with Fisher. He notes that he had not previously appeared in print.

In January, 1623, Laud was inducted into the parsonage of Creeke, in the diocese of Peterborough, which he was permitted to hold *in commendam*, with his not very well endowed Welch bishopric. But the new reign, which began in March, 1625, when he was in his fifty-second year, was the beginning to him of new fortunes.

Yet his own account informs us that attempts were at first made to prejudice the royal mind against him. Under date of Saturday, 9th of April, he writes, "The Duke of Buckingham, whom, upon all accounts I am bound for ever to honour, signified to me that a certain person, moved through I know not what envy, had blackened my name with his majesty King Charles; lay-

ing hold, for that purpose, of the error into which, by I know not what fate, I had formerly fallen in the business of Charles, Earl of Devonshire, 1605, December 26.* He was too strong, however, in the favour of the royal favourite and most powerful man in the kingdom, to be injured now by this stale story. At the coronation, on the 2nd of February, 1626, he officiated as dean of Westminster, in room of Bishop Williams, who had for the present passed into the shade, and whom Charles would not have to take part in the ceremony, so that he was obliged to make Laud, whom he cordially hated, his deputy. On the 6th of March thereafter he resigned his parsonage of Ibstock; on the 20th of June he was nominated to the bishopric of Bath and Wells; in the beginning of October he was appointed to the office of dean of the Chapel Royal, vacant by the death of Bishop Andrews; in the end of April, 1627, he was sworn a privy counsellor, which in those days implied that he was to take an actual share in the government of the kingdom; and in July, 1628, Charles succeeded in having him placed in the see of London, though not till after some months had been spent in getting room made for him by the removal of Bishop Mountain, which proved almost as difficult as if he had been a real mountain that had to be got out of the way. The scheme was that Mountain should go to Durham, from which Neile, Laud's friend, was transferred to succeed Andrews at Winchester; but having spent a great part of his life, as Heylin expresses it, "in the air of the court," he looked upon such a relegation to the cold regions of the North as "the worst kind of banishment, next neighbour to a civil death;" however, before he was Bishop of Durham more than in form, the death of Dr. Toby Matthews, archbishop of York, made another opening for him, with which he was better satisfied; so that he presided over three sees in succession in that year; and he died before the end of it.

Laud had already made himself so unpopular by his

* The entry is in Latin: the translation is Wharton's.

apparent preference of ceremonies to spiritual religion, and his severe, not to say violent measures against puritanism, as well as by his intimate connexion with Buckingham, that when the House of Commons which met in March, 1628, fell upon the duke, voting him to be the great cause of all the grievances in the kingdom, they also drew up a remonstrance to the king, in which, among other matters, they denounced Laud and his friend Neile as unsound in their theological opinions, and the authors or principal promoters of sundry innovations of a Romish character in the services of the church. To this admonition, however, he paid no heed. The parliament rose on the 26th of June, and on the 23rd of August Buckingham was assassinated. In April, 1630, Laud was chosen their Chancellor by the University of Oxford. A few months later occurred the first of several notorious cases of Laud's ferocity of procedure in the High Commission Court,—that of Dr. Alexander Leighton, “a Scot by birth, a doctor of physick by profession, a fiery Puritan in faction,” is Heylin's description of him—who was brought before the court for publishing a tract entitled ‘An Appeal to the Parliament; or, Zion's Plea against Prelacy,’ and was sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000*l.*, to be twice set in the pillory and whipped, to have his ears cut off and his nose slit, to be branded in the face with the letters S. S. (for Sower of Sedition), and to be imprisoned in the Fleet for the remainder of his life. This barbarous sentence was executed in all its parts; and Leighton (who was the father of the learned, eloquent, and admirable Archbishop Leighton, who held the see of Glasgow in the next age) lay in prison for ten years. On Sunday the 16th of January of the next year, 1630, took place Laud's famous consecration of the church of St. Catherine Cree, London, on the north side of Leadenhall Street, Prynne's satirical and probably somewhat exaggerated account of which, in his ‘Canterbury's Doom’ (1646), has been in substance incorporated by Hume in his History, and is familiar to most readers. As a sample both of Laud and of Prynne, we will quote the concluding paragraph

in the original words :—" When the bishop approached near the communion-table, he bowed with his nose very near the ground six or seven times ; then he came to one of the corners of the table, and there bowed himself three times ; then to the second and third, bowing at each three times ; but when he came to the side of the table where the bread and wine were, he bowed himself seven times : and then, after the reading of many prayers by himself, and his two fat chaplains which were with him, and all this while upon their knees by him, in their surplices, hoods, and tippetts, he himself came near the bread, which was laid in a fine napkin ; and then he gently lifted up one of the corners of the napkin, like a boy that peeped into a bird's nest in a bush, and presently clapped it down again, and flew back a step or two, and then bowed very low three times towards it and the table. When he beheld the bread, then he came near, and opened the napkin again, and bowed as before ; then he laid his hand upon the gilt cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it : so soon as he had pulled the cup a little nearer to him, he let the cup go, flew back, and bowed again three times towards it : then he came near again, and, lifting up the cover of the cup, peeped into it ; and seeing the wine, he let fall the cover on it again, flew nimbly back, and bowed as before. After these, and many other apish antic gestures, he himself reeceeded, and then gave the sacrament to some principal men only, they devoutly kneeling near the table ; after which more prayers being said, this scene and interlude ended." Impossible as it may be for most modern readers to enter fully into the spirit of the kind of devotion practised on this and other occasions by Laud, and discordant with the reigning popular feeling as it was even in his own day, so that his attempt to revive it was a great miscalculation and blunder, it is to our taste, we confess, at least as respectable as Prynne's wit.

Prynne, however, it must be confessed, had had something to make his bitterness excusable. For his famous ' *Histrion-mastyx*,' an attack upon stage-plays, in one passage of which he was accused of having reflected upon

the queen, he was, in 1633, sentenced in the court of Star-Chamber to pay a fine of 5000*l.*, to be expelled the University of Oxford, and the society of Lincoln's Inn, to be degraded and for ever disabled from exercising his profession of the law, to stand twice in the pillory, to have both his ears cut off, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment.¹ And after he had had his ears sewed on again, he was a second time brought up before the same court in June, 1637, for a pamphlet which he had published since his incarceration, and sentenced to have them again shorn off, to stand in the pillory as before, and to be branded on both cheeks with the letters S. L. (for Schismatical Libeller). He was accordingly consigned to Caernarvon Castle, whence he was afterwards removed to Mount Orgueil Castle, in the isle of Jersey; and there he lay till he was released, with other victims of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission, by an order of the House of Commons, in November, 1640. It was at the same time that Prynne received his second sentence that similar sentences were passed upon Dr. John Bastwick, a physician (who had also been fined and otherwise punished for a former book in 1633), for a publication in which he had reflected upon the bishops; and upon the Rev. Henry Burton, Rector of St. Matthew's Church, Friday-street, London, for two sermons which he had preached, and a pamphlet which, after he had been thrown into prison on account of the sermons, he had published in their vindication. Bastwick lay in one of the Scilly islands, and Burton in the island of Guernsey, until they were released along with Prynne.

Meanwhile Laud had been mounting higher and higher. In June, 1632, he had got his dependant, or at least his intimate friend, Mr. Francis Windbank, made Secretary of State; he notes in his Diary that he had obtained the place for him of the king. We may mention here that Windbank was afterwards charged by the parliament with having been a confederate of Laud's in his tyrannical and papistical system, but escaped destruction by flying to the continent. About three weeks after Windbank's appointment he got another firm ally,

Dr. Juxon, Dean of Worcester, made Clerk of the Closet; he had sued for this, he tells us, that he might have some one whom he could trust near his majesty, if he should himself grow weak and infirm: "as," he adds, "I must have a time." In 1633 he attended the king on his visit to Scotland; on the 15th of June he was sworn of the Privy Council of that country; and on the 4th of August, a few days after his return to London, news came to court of the death that morning of Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury; on which, he tells us, the king resolved presently to give him the place. "That very morning," he also states, "at Greenwich there came one to me seriously, and that avowed ability to perform it, and offered me to be a cardinal. I went presently to the king, and acquainted him both with the thing and the person." About a fortnight afterwards, this offer was renewed: "but," says he, "my answer again was, that something dwelt within me which would not suffer that till Rome were other than it is." On the 14th of September he was chosen Chancellor of the University of Dublin; and on the 19th of the same month he was translated to the archbishopric and the primacy of the English church.

To these ecclesiastical and academical preferments and honours were added others of a less professional sort. On the 5th of February, 1635, he was made a member of the Committee of Trade and Revenue; on the 14th of March, upon the death of the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Portland, he was named one of the Commissioners for the Exchequer; and two days after, he was called by the king into the Foreign Committee, that is, into the Committee of the Privy Council for foreign affairs. But his crowning triumph was achieved when, on the 6th of March in the following year, 1636, he got his friend Juxon, already Bishop of London, appointed to the office of lord high treasurer of England. "No churchman," he writes with manifest satisfaction, "had it since Henry VII.'s time. I pray God bless him to carry it so that the church may have honour, and the king and the state service and contentment by it. And now, if the church

will not hold up themselves, under God I can do no more."

But all this greatness was suddenly brought to an end by some of the first proceedings of the ever-memorable parliament which assembled on the 3rd of November, 1640. On the 18th of December, Denzil Hollis, by order of the House of Commons, impeached Laud of high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours, at the bar of the House of Lords. On the 26th of February, 1641, the articles of impeachment, twenty-six in number, were brought up by Sir Harry Vane, the younger. He was specially charged with having advised his majesty that he might levy money on his subjects without consent of parliament; with attempting to establish absolute power not only in the king, but in himself and other bishops, above and against the laws; with perverting the course of justice by bribes and promises to the judges; with the imposition of divers new ecclesiastical canons, containing matters contrary both to the laws and the royal prerogative; with assuming a papal and tyrannical power in matters both ecclesiastical and temporal; with endeavouring to subvert the true religion and to introduce popish superstition; and with being the principal adviser and author of the late war against the Scots. On the 23rd of October, at the instigation of his old enemy Williams, now become a great man again, Laud's archiepiscopal jurisdiction was sequestered by the House of Lords, and made over to his inferior officers. About a year after, all the rents and profits of his archbishopric, in common with those of all other archbishoprics, bishoprics, deaneries, and cathedral offices, were sequestered for the use of the commonwealth. On the 9th of May, 1643, all his goods in Lambeth Palace, his books included, were seized. Soon after, his room and person were searched by Prynne, under the authority of a warrant from the House of Commons; and his Diary and all his other papers taken from him. All this while, with the exception of a few months at first, during which he was left in the custody of Mr. Maxwell, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, he had been

confined in the Tower. At last, on the 12th of March, 1644, he was brought to trial before the lords assembled, as usual, in Westminster Hall. Prynne says in his 'History of the Trial,' that "he made as full, as gallant, as pithy a defence of so bad a cause, and spake as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent; and that with much art, sophistry, vivacity, oratory, audacity, and confidence, without the least blush, or acknowledgment of guilt in any thing." It seemed very doubtful if the lords, overawed as they were, would have consented to condemn him; at the end of the trial, which lasted twenty days, they adjourned without coming to a vote on the question of his guilt or innocence; and in this state matters remained till the Commons, abandoning their impeachment, resorted to another method of effecting their object. An ordinance, or bill, for his attainder was brought into the House on the 13th of November, and two days after was passed and immediately sent up to the Lords. They too, at last, passed it in a very thin house, on the 4th of January; and on the 10th Laud was, in conformity with this law overriding all law, beheaded on Tower Hill. He met his death with great firmness.

Thus fell Laud; and, as Heylin observes, the church fell with him. "Of stature," writes that sympathizing, but not indiscriminatingly admiring biographer, towards the close of his narrative, "he was low, but of a strong composition; so short a trunk contained so much excellent treasure. . . . His countenance cheerful and well bloodied: more fleshy, as I have often heard him say, than any other part of his body; which cheerfulness and vivacity he carried with him to the very block, notwithstanding the afflictions of four years' imprisonment, and the infelicity of the times. . . . A gallant spirit being for the most part like the sun, which shows the greater at his setting. . . . Of apprehension he was quick and sudden, of a very sociable wit, and a pleasant humour, and one that knew as well how to put off the gravity of his place and person when he saw occasion, as any living man whatsoever. Accessible enough at all

times, but when he was tired out with multiplicity and vexation of business, which some who did not understand him ascribed unto the natural ruggedness of his disposition." He built an hospital in his native town of Reading, and was a munificent benefactor to the University of Oxford in various ways; and Heylin mentions that these good works exhausted all the fortune he had made himself master of "in so long a time of power and greatness, wherein he had the principal managing of affairs both in church and state."

Archbishop Laud's literary works, besides his account of the conference with Fisher, already mentioned, which has been several times printed, are Seven Sermons, originally published separately in 4to, and then collected and printed together in one 8vo. volume, at London, in 1651; his Diary and History of his Troubles and Trial, together with some other pieces published by Wharton in 1695; and his History of his Chancellorship of Oxford, &c., forming the second volume of that work, published in 1700.



JOHN SELDEN was born at Salvington, near Worthing, in the county of Sussex, December 16, 1584. His father, according to Wood, "was a sufficient plebeian," who, through some skill in music, obtained as his wife Margaret Baker, a daughter of a knightly family of the county of Kent. The baptism of his eminent son, as well as his own musical talents, are noticed in an existing parish registry in these words: "1584,--Johnne, sonne of John Selden, the minstrell, was baptised the XXXth day of December." The house in which the family lived was called Lacies, and the estate of the father consisted, in 1606, of eighty-one acres, of the annual value of about twenty-three pounds. John Selden, the son, received his early education at the free grammar-school of Chichester. At the age of fourteen he entered at Hart Hall, Oxford, a foundation since merged in Magdalen Hall, Oxford. After residing four years at the University, he was admitted, in 1602, a member of

Clifford's Inn, London, one of the dependencies of the greater Inns of Court, in which students of law were formerly accustomed to commence their legal education. He removed in May, 1604, to the Inner Temple. His attention appears to have been early drawn to the study of civil and legal history, and antiquities; he did not court the more active business of his profession, and his employment at the bar was limited. In 1607 he prepared for the press his first work, entitled '*Analecton Anglo-Britannicon*,' being a collection of civil and ecclesiastical matters relating to Britain, of a date anterior to the Norman Conquest. This was soon followed by three other works of a similar character, and in 1614 he printed his '*Treatise upon Titles of Honour*.' The last of these works has been considered in our courts of law to be of great authority, and has been usually spoken of with much commendation. Pursuing his legal inquiries, he edited, in 1616, two treatises; one of Sir John Fortescue, the other of Sir Ralph Hengham, and in the same year wrote a '*Discourse on the Office of Lord Chancellor*.' In the next year he printed a work, '*De Diis Syris*,' which added to his celebrity, but is not compiled with that attention to the value of the respective authorities cited, so essentially necessary to the accurate consideration of historical questions. His next work was a '*History of Tithes*,' printed in 1618, which excited against him the bitter hostility of the clergy. The doctrine of divine right, as the foundation of many ecclesiastical claims, was at this time jealously maintained, and was considered to be peculiarly connected with the right of the clergy to tithes. Selden drew no direct conclusion against the divine nature of the right to tithes, but he had so arranged his authorities as to render such a conclusion inevitable. The nature only of the title was contested, and so far from the clergy having had any reason to look upon Selden as an enemy, he in fact strengthened their claim to tithes by placing it upon the same footing as any ordinary title to property. As soon as the '*History*' appeared it was attacked. The High Commission Court summoned Selden before it, and to

this tribunal he was compelled to apologise. The terms of his submission very accurately state the offence, and are expressive of regret that "he had offered any occasion of argument against any right of maintenance *jure divino* of the ministers of the gospel." The work received several answers, but Selden was forbidden by James I., under a threat of imprisonment, to notice them. "All that will," said he, "have liberty, and some use it, to write and preach what they will against me, to abuse my name, my person, my profession, with as many falsehoods as they please, and my hands are tied: I must not so much as answer their calumnies. I am so far from writing more, that I have scarcely ventured for my own safety so much as to say they abuse me, though I know it."

Hardly had this storm passed, when he became involved in the disputes between the Crown and the House of Commons. One of the earliest steps of that body, upon the convocation of Parliament in 1621, was to present a remonstrance on the state of public affairs. This was succeeded by the memorable protestation of December 18, 1621, in which the liberty of the subject was asserted, and the right of the Commons to offer advice to the Crown was insisted on. This protestation was erased from the journals of the House by the King's own hands, and the parliament was dissolved. Selden, whose advice, though he was not then a member, had been requested by the House in this dispute, was in consequence imprisoned, and detained in confinement five weeks. His release was owing to the intercession of Bishop Williams, who represented him to be "a man who hath excellent parts, which might be diverted from an affectation of pleasing idle people, to do some good and useful service to his Majesty." On his release he dedicated to Williams his edition of Eadmer's contemporary 'History of England from the Norman Conquest to the death of Henry I.,' which he had prepared for the press during his confinement.

Selden's first appearance in the House of Commons was as member for Lancaster, for which place he was

returned in the parliament which assembled in 1623, the last Parliament of James I. In this year, on being chosen reader of Lyons Inn, he refused to perform the office, an instance of independence or self-will for which there is no apparent reason. The register of the Inner Temple contains an order passed by the Society in consequence of Selden's refusal, which decided that he should be excluded from ever becoming a bencher. This order, however, was rescinded in 1624.

On the accession of Charles I. a new parliament was called, which assembled at Oxford, but was almost immediately dissolved. In this "*parliamentum vanum*," as it was called, Selden sat for Great Bedwin. In the next parliament, which was summoned almost immediately afterwards, he again sat for Great Bedwin. The Commons immediately entered upon a consideration of the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, and his impeachment being resolved on, Selden was one of the members appointed to prepare the articles, and was named a manager for their prosecution. These proceedings were stopped by another dissolution of parliament, in June, 1626. But the necessities of the Crown requiring those supplies which parliament refused without a redress of grievances, forced loans were resorted to in the exercise of certain pretended powers of the prerogative. In several instances these loans were refused; among others by Sir Edward Hampden and four others, who were imprisoned in consequence: and the illegality of their commitment was very ably argued by Selden in the King's Bench. They were brought before the court by a writ of Habeas Corpus, but Selden and his fellow-counsel were unsuccessful in their endeavours to obtain the discharge of the prisoners, who were all remanded on the judgment of Hyde. In the third parliament, called by Charles I. in 1628, Selden sat for the borough of Ludgershall; and in the debates which immediately took place upon illegal commitments, the levy of tonnage and poundage, and the preparation of the Petition of Rights, he took a very active share. The attack upon the Duke of Bucking-

ham was renewed, and it was proposed by Selden that judgment should be demanded against him upon the impeachment of the former parliament. As affecting a great constitutional question, only finally determined in 1791, of the continuance of impeachments, notwithstanding a dissolution of parliament, the suggestion was remarkable. Further proceedings were, however, stopped by Felton's assassination of the duke.

During the prorogation of parliament Selden again devoted himself to literary pursuits. The Earl of Arundel, a great lover and promoter of the arts, had received from the East many ancient marbles, having on them Greek inscriptions. At the request of Sir Robert Cotton these inscriptions were transcribed under the superintendence of Selden, and were published under the title of '*Marmora Arundeliana*.'

In January, 1629, parliament again assembled, and the debates upon public grievances were renewed. The goods of several merchants, in the interval of the meeting of parliament, had been seized by the crown, to satisfy a claim to the duty of tonnage and poundage. Among the sufferers was Rolls, a member of the House. It was moved that the seizure of his goods was a breach of privilege. When the question was to be put, the Speaker said "he durst not, for that the King had commanded to the contrary." Selden immediately rose, and vehemently complained of this conduct: "Dare you not, Mr. Speaker, to put the question when we command you? If you will not put it, we must sit still: thus, we shall never be able to do anything. They that come after you may say that they have the King's commands not to do it. We sit here by the command of the King under the great seal, and you are, by his Majesty, sitting in his royal chair before both houses, appointed for our Speaker, and now refuse to do your office." The House then adjourned in a state of great excitement. When it re-assembled the Speaker was called upon to put the question, and again refused. On this Holles and Valentine thrust the Speaker into the chair, and held him down, while Sir Miles Hobart locked the door of the House

and took possession of the key. A declaration was then produced by Sir John Elliot, which Colonel Stroud moved should be read, and himself put the question. The motion was declared to be carried; and the Speaker, refusing to act upon it, was charged by Sir P. Heyman with cutting up the liberty of the subject by the roots. Selden moved that the declaration should be read by the clerk, which was agreed to. The House then adjourned to a day, previous to which the King came to the House of Lords and dissolved the parliament, on account of "the undutiful and seditious carriage of the Lower House," without the attendance of the Commons. Selden, and the other members concerned in the violence offered to the Speaker, were committed to prison. This was his last and most rigorous confinement. For some time he was denied the use of pens, ink, paper, and books. When, after eight months had elapsed, he was brought up with the other prisoners before the King's Bench upon a writ of Habeas Corpus, their discharge was offered upon condition of their finding bail for their good behaviour. "We demand," said Selden, "to be bailed in point of right; and if it be not grantable of right, we do not demand it. But finding sureties for good behaviour is a point of discretion merely, and we cannot assent to it without great offence to the parliament, where these matters, which are surmised by the return, were acted." They were remanded, and remained for a long time in the King's Bench Prison, where Eliot, one of the ablest members of the popular party, fell a victim to his confinement. The restraint, at least as far as Selden was concerned, appears to have been less rigorous than it was previously. This may be inferred from the fact that he was appointed by the students of the Inns of Court to prepare a masque, which they were desirous to represent before the royal family to show their disapprobation of Prynne's '*Histrio-mastix*.' The masque left Ely Place, Holborn, in grand procession, and went down Chancery Lane and along the Strand to Whitehall, where it was performed before the King. During his imprisonment he wrote a treatise, '*De Suc-*

cessionibus in Bona Defuncti secundum Leges Hebræorum, et de Successione in Pontificatum Hebræorum, Libri II.,' which he dedicated to Archbishop Laud; probably upon account of his being indebted to the Archbishop for the loan of books. In 1634 Selden consented to give bail, and was suffered to go at large. A petition to Charles I., to whom Selden appears to have been less obnoxious than most of the others of his party, either through admiration of his learning or from conviction that his natural love of ease and retirement, which Clarendon speaks of, would make him less likely to proceed to violent measures, obtained for him, through the interest of Laud, his entire liberation. He appears soon afterwards to have gained the personal favour of Charles I., and dedicated to him his celebrated essay on the '*Mare Clausum*,' an argument in favour of the dominion of the English over the four seas, copies of which were, by order of the Privy Council, directed to be placed in the council chest, the Court of Exchequer, and the Court of Admiralty.

To the Long Parliament, which commenced its sittings in 1640, Selden was unanimously returned by the University of Oxford; but neither this new connexion with the clergy nor the favour of Charles appears to have affected his opinions. Upon the first day of the sitting of parliament he was nominated a member of the committee to inquire into the abuses of the Earl Marshal's Court, and was appointed with others to draw up a remonstrance upon the state of the nation. He also sat upon the committees which conducted the measures preparatory to the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, but he was not one of the managers before the House of Lords; and his name was posted in Old Palace Yard as one of "the enemies of justice," a title given to those who were regarded as favourable to the Earl. It is not very clear what his opinions upon the impeachment were. That he should have been satisfied with all the steps taken by his party is not possible, for his opinions were undoubtedly moderate, and his studious habits must have checked any disposition to violence. He was also

nominated to frame the articles of impeachment against Laud, and was a party to the resolutions against the legislative powers of the bishops. The court, however, appears to have considered him favourable to its interests, until he spoke against the commission of array. Upon this question Clarendon represents the influence of his opinion upon the public to have been very prejudicial to Charles I. About this time the great seal was offered to him. He declined it, according to Clarendon, on account of his love of ease, and "that he would not have made a journey to York or have been out of his own bed for any preferment." The reason which he himself assigned for refusing it was the impossibility of his rendering any service to the Crown. He sat as member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and took the Covenant; yet he was not well disposed towards the Puritans, and declared that "he was neither mad enough nor fool enough to deserve the name of Puritan." Upon the death of Dr. Eden, Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in August, 1645, Selden was elected his successor, but declined to accept the office. About this time he appears to have gradually withdrawn from public business. His fondness of ease and his increasing age, and the silence he preserved upon many important events, all contribute to leave the inference of his approval or disapproval of much of the conduct of the parliamentary leaders open to adverse parties. He certainly never openly abandoned the popular side, nor does he appear to have forfeited its respect; and yet at the same time he continued to be esteemed by many of the leading Royalists.

The studies of Selden were continued to the latest period of his life, and he was near the age of seventy when his last work was published. The influence he possessed with the parliamentary leaders was frequently exerted in favour of letters. When Archbishop Laud's endowment of the professorship of Arabic in the University of Oxford was seized, on the attainder of that prelate, he procured its restitution. When Archbishop Usher, having preached against the divines of Westminster,

ster and excited their anger, was punished by the confiscation of his library, Selden interfered, and saved it from sale and dispersion. When prelacy was abolished, the library attached to the see of Canterbury was by his efforts transferred to the University of Cambridge, where it remained until the Restoration. Through his entreaties, Whitelocke was induced to accept the charge of the medals and books at St. James's, and thus secured their preservation. The services which he rendered to the University of Oxford were no less valuable, and were acknowledged in grateful terms by that learned body; and it was through his interference that the papers and instruments of Graves, the Professor of Mathematics, which had been seized by a party of soldiers, were restored.

Selden died November 30, 1654, and was buried in the Temple church. He left behind him no immediate relations, and he bequeathed nearly the whole of his fortune, amounting to nearly 40,000*l.*, to his four executors, giving only one hundred pounds to each of the children of his sister, the wife of John Barnard, of Goring. His books and manuscripts he had originally given by his will to the University of Oxford; but that body having demanded of him a heavy bond for the restitution of a book which he desired to borrow from the public library, the bequest was struck out, and they were directed to be placed "in some convenient public library or college in one of the universities." Sir M. Hale and his other executors, considering that they were the executors "of his will, and not of his passion," transferred them to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

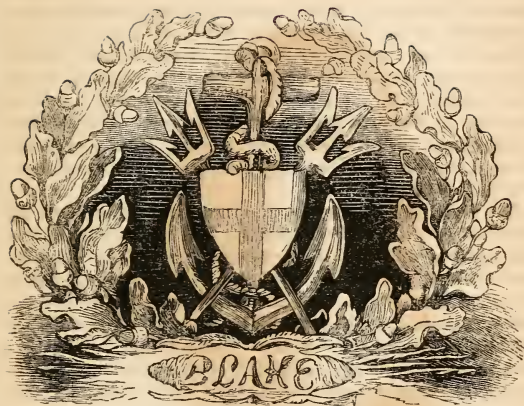
To learned men Selden was liberal and generous; and there is a letter from Casaubon in Parr's 'Life of Archbishop Usher,' in which that distinguished scholar with great feeling says, "I was with Mr. Selden after I had been with your Grace, whom, upon some intimation of my present condition and necessities, I found so noble, as that he did not only presently furnish me with a very considerable sum of money, but was so free and forward in his expressions, as that I could not find in my

heart to tell him much (somewhat I did) of my intention of selling, lest it should sound as a farther pressing upon him of whom I had received so much."

Milton terms Selden "the chief of learned men reputed in this land;" and Whitelocke states, "that his mind was as great as his learning, being very generous and hospitable." He was intimate with Ben Jonson, who addressed a poetical epistle to him, in which he styles his friend "monarch in letters." Clarendon, who could not regard Selden with any political partiality, though he had in early life been on terms of intimacy with him, describes him to have been "a person whom no character can flatter or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit or virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds and in all languages (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent writings), that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant among books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability were such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his goodness, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding." Selden's name has been made familiar to the public by a small volume entitled 'Table Talk.' This valuable little collection of acute and learned remarks was first published in 1689, thirty-five years after Selden's death, in a quarto pamphlet with the title of 'Table Talk; being the discourses of John Selden, or his Sense of various matters of Weight and Consequence, relating especially to Religion and State.' The work was compiled by Selden's amanuensis, who states in the dedication that he had the opportunity of hearing Selden's discourses for twenty years together, and that of what is here collected "the sense and notion is wholly his and most of the words."

The motto adopted by Selden was *περὶ παντὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν* (above all things, liberty), and it is to be found neatly written upon the first page of many of his MSS. Its spirit he extended to religious questions;

and there are many bold and vigorous passages in his writings in which the necessity of freedom of inquiry upon all subjects is strongly insisted on. Noticing upon one occasion a certain class of ancient philosophers, he remarks, "He who takes to himself their liberty of inquiry, is in the only way that, in all kinds of studies, leads and lies open even to the sanctuary of Truth; while others, that are servile to common opinion and vulgar suppositions, can rarely hope to be admitted nearer than into the base-court of her temple, which too speciously often counterfeits her innermost sanctuary." From the nature of his studies his writings are far from being popular, and are now but little read. They obtained, however, for their author, during an age abounding with illustrious and learned men, an honourable reputation, among the most distinguished literary men of continental Europe, as well as among those of his own country. His works were edited by Dr. Wilkins, in 3 vols. folio, in 1726, to which a Latin 'Life of the Author' is prefixed.



ROBERT BLAKE was born at the seaport town of Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, in August, 1598. His father, Humphrey Blake, was a merchant at Bridgewater, in which neighbourhood he purchased an estate, having accumulated a considerable fortune in the Spanish trade. Humphrey Blake had several children, of whom Robert was the eldest. He was educated in the free school of Bridgewater, whence he went to Oxford, and became a member of St. Alban's Hall in 1615, whence he removed to Wadham College. In 1617 he took the degree of B. A., and in 1619 was a candidate for a fellowship in Merton College, but was unsuccessful, as he had previously been in standing for a scholarship of Christ Church. He rose early, studied hard, and though he was fond of field sports and other violent exercises, seems to have acquired a fair quantity of scholastic learning. He returned to Bridgewater when about twenty-five years old, and lived quietly on his paternal estate till

1640, with the character of a blunt, bold man, of ready humour and fearless expression of his sentiments, which, both in politics and religion, were adverse to the pretensions of the court. These qualities gained for him the confidence of the Presbyterian party in Bridgewater, by whom he was returned to the parliament of April, 1640. The speedy dissolution of that assembly gave him no opportunity of trying his powers as a debater; and he lost his election to the Long Parliament. But on the breaking out of the civil war, he displayed his principles by entering the parliamentary army, and was soon made a captain of dragoons.

We have little information concerning his services till 1643, when we find him intrusted with the command of a fort at Bristol, under Colonel Fiennes, when the city was besieged by the Royalists. Here his impetuous temper had nearly brought him to an untimely death; for having maintained his fort and killed some of the king's soldiers after the garrison had surrendered, Prince Rupert was with difficulty induced to spare his life, which was held to have been forfeited by this violation of the laws of war. Blake served afterwards in Somersetshire, as lieutenant-colonel, under Popham, who was governor of Lyme. He took Taunton for the Parliament, by an unexpected attack, and obtained ten pieces of cannon and a large quantity of ammunition. In 1644 he was appointed governor of Taunton, which was a place of great consequence, being the only Parliamentary fortress in that quarter. In that capacity he distinguished himself by the skill, courage and constancy with which, during two successive sieges, he maintained the town against the Royalists in 1645; an important service, for which the parliament voted 2000*l.* to the garrison, and 500*l.* to the governor. In 1646 Colonel Blake reduced Doncaster Castle, which was nearly one of the last events of the war. Next to Cromwell, he was probably the ablest and most successful military officer in the Parliamentary army. It is recorded that he disapproved of the extremity to which matters were pushed against Charles, and that he

was heard to say that he would as freely venture his life to save the king's as he had ever done it in the service of the Parliament.

In February, 1649, Colonel Blake, in conjunction with two officers of the same rank, Deane and Popham, was appointed to command the fleet. It may be taken as a proof that, notwithstanding the fame of our early navigators, the king's service at sea had never been treated with much attention; that, down to later times than those of which we now write, the chief command of a fleet seems never to have been given to a man of naval education and habits. It is probable that the sea-service then held out no inducements strong enough to tempt men of high birth to submit to its inconveniences, and that the command of a fleet was esteemed too great a post to be conferred on a man of humble origin. For this new employment Blake showed signal capacity. When the embers of the war were stirred up after the king's death, he was ordered to the Irish Seas in pursuit of Prince Rupert, whom he blockaded in the harbour of Kinsale for several months. Despair of relief induced the prince at last to make a daring effort to break through the parliamentary squadron, in which he succeeded; but with the loss of three ships. Blake pursued him to the Tagus, where being denied liberty to attack his enemy by the King of Portugal, in revenge he captured and sent home a number of ships richly laden, on their way from Brazil. Towards the latter end of 1650, Prince Rupert escaped out of the Tagus, and Blake followed him up the straits, thence to Carthage, and thence to Malaga, which was a neutral port. In January, 1651, he attacked, and, with the exception of two ships, in one of which Prince Rupert and his brother Prince Maurice escaped, destroyed the royalist fleet, in the harbour; a breach of international law, which can only be justified on the alleged ground that Rupert had destroyed British ships in the same harbour. These services were recompensed by the Parliament with the post of Warden of the Cinque Ports; and in March an act was passed constituting Blake, with his colleagues Deane and Popham, admirals and generals of

the fleet for the year ensuing. In that capacity, he took Jersey, Guernsey, and the Scilly Islands from the royalists; a service for which he was again thanked by parliament. In this year he was elected a member of the Council of State.

March 25, 1652, Blake was appointed sole admiral for nine months, in expectation of a war with Holland. The Dutch United States and England were at this time the two most powerful maritime countries in the world; and it is hard to find any better reason than national rivalry for the bloody war which broke out between them in the spring of this year; a war which seems to have been begun on a point of etiquette, at the discretion of the admirals, without orders for hostilities being known to be given by the governments on either side. On May 18, a fleet of forty-two Dutch ships, commanded by the celebrated Van Tromp, appeared off the Goodwin Sands. Being challenged by Major Bourne, who commanded a squadron in the Downs, they professed to have been driven from their anchorage off Dunkirk by stress of weather; but, instead of drawing off the coast as they were required to do, they sailed to Dover and cast anchor, in a manner which showed the deliberate design of insulting the British flag. Blake lay some distance to the westward in Rye Bay. Intelligence was immediately sent to him, and on his approach the Dutch weighed anchor, and seemed about to retreat; but changing their course, they sailed direct for the English fleet. When within musket-shot, Blake ordered a single gun to be fired at the Dutch admiral's flag, which was done thrice. Van Tromp returned a broadside, and a hot and well-contested action ensued, and was maintained till nightfall. Under cover of the darkness the Dutch retreated, losing two ships (one sunk, the other taken), and leaving the possession of the field and the honour of the victory in the hands of the English. The States appear neither to have authorised nor approved of the conduct of their admiral; for they left no means untried to satisfy the English government; and when they found the demands of the latter so high as to preclude accommodation, they

dismissed Van Tromp, and intrusted the command of their fleet to De Ruyter and De Witt. Meanwhile, Blake's activity was unremitting. He gained a rich harvest of prizes among the Dutch homeward-bound merchantmen, which were pursuing their way without suspicion of danger; and, when he had sent home forty good prizes and effectually cleared the Channel, he sailed to the northward, dispersed the fleet engaged in the herring fishery, and captured a hundred of the vessels composing it, together with a squadron of twelve ships of war sent out to protect them. The hostile fleets again came to an engagement, September 28, in which the advantage was decidedly in favour of the English, the rear-admiral of the Dutch being taken, and three or four of their ships disabled. Night put an end to the action; and though for two days the English maintained the pursuit, the lightness and uncertainty of the wind prevented them from closing with the enemy, who escaped into Goree.

After this battle the drafting off of detachments on various services reduced the English fleet to forty sail, and those, it is said, in consequence of the negligence or jealousy of the executive government, were ill provided with men and ammunition, and other requisite supplies. Thus weakly furnished, Blake lay in the Downs, when Van Tromp again stood over to the English coast, with eighty men-of-war. Of that undaunted spirit which usually prompts the British seaman to refuse no odds, Blake had an ample share; indeed, he did much to infuse that spirit into the service. But there are odds for which no spirit can make up, and as he had a brave and skilful enemy, the result of his rashness was that he was well beaten. The action commenced at two o'clock in the morning of November 29, and lasted till six in the evening. Not more than half the ships on either side were engaged; but out of this small number of English vessels, two of war were taken, and four destroyed; the rest were so shattered that they were glad to run for shelter into the river Thames. The Dutch remained masters of the narrow seas: and Van Tromp, in an idle bravado, sailed through the Channel with a broom at his

mast-head, as if he had swept it clear of English ships: However, neither the admiral nor the nation were of a temper to submit to this indignity. Monk and Deane were joined in the commission with Blake, and the fleet was repaired with such diligence, that, on the 8th of February, 1653, he sailed from Queenborough with sixty ships of war, and was soon joined by twenty more from Portsmouth. On the 18th he fell in with Van Tromp, with nearly equal force, conducting a large convoy of merchantmen up the Channel. A running battle ensued, which was continued during three consecutive days, until, on the 20th, the Dutch ships, which, to suit the nature of their coast, were built with a smaller draught of water than the English, obtained shelter in the shallow waters of Calais. In this long and obstinate fight, the Dutch lost only eleven men-of-war and thirty merchant vessels; but the number killed is said to have amounted to 1500 on either side; a loss of life of most unusual amount in naval engagements.

About the end of April Blake and his colleagues sailed over to the coast of Holland with a fleet of 100 sail. The Dutch fleet took shelter in the Texel, where they were watched by Deane and Monk while Blake sailed to the north. The Dutch fleet however got out, and on the 3rd of June Deane and Monk brought them to an engagement off the North Foreland. On the first day the Dutch seem to have had somewhat the advantage: on the 4th Blake arrived with a reinforcement of eighteen sail; the English gained a complete victory, and if the Dutch had not saved themselves in the shallow waters of Calais the whole fleet would doubtless have been sunk or taken. Ill health obliged him then to quit the sea, so that he was not present at the last great victory of July 29, in which Van Tromp was killed. But out of respect for his services the parliament presented him with a gold chain, as well as the admirals who had actually commanded in the battle. When Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament in April, 1653, and afterwards assumed the office of Protector, Blake, though in his principles a republican, did not refuse to acknowledge the new ad-

ministration. In conjunction with Deane and Monk he published a declaration of their resolution, "notwithstanding the late change, to proceed in the performance of their duties, and the trust reposed in them, against the enemies of the Commonwealth." He is reported to have said to his officers, "It is not our business to mind state-affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us." He sat in the two first parliaments summoned by the Protector, who always treated him with great respect. Nor was Cromwell's acknowledged sagacity in the choice of men at fault when he chose Blake to command a strong fleet sent into the Mediterranean in November, 1654, to uphold the honour of the English flag, and to demand reparation for the slights and injuries done to the nation during that stormy period of civil war, when our own discord had made others daring against us. In better hands such a mission could not have been placed. Dutch, French, and Spaniards alike concurred in rendering unusual honours to his flag. The Duke of Tuscany and the Order of Malta made compensation for injuries done to the English commerce. The piratical states of Algiers and Tripoli were terrified into submission, and promised to abstain from further violence. The Dey of Tunis held out, confident in the strength of his fortifications. "Here," he said, "are our castles of Goletta and Porto Ferino: do your worst; do you think we fear your fleet?" Blake took the same course against Tunis as Lord Exmouth did in more recent times against Algiers. He bore right into the bay of Porto Ferino; engaged the fortress within musket-shot, and in less than two hours silenced or dismounted its guns; and sending a detachment of boats into the harbour, burnt the shipping which lay there. This was in March, 1655. After this example he found no more difficulty in dealing with the African states.

War having been declared between Spain and England, in 1656, Blake took his station to blockade the bay of Cadiz. At this period his constitution was much broken, insomuch that, in the expectation of a speedy death, he sent home a request that some person proper to be his successor might be joined in commission with

him. General Montague was accordingly sent out with a strong squadron. Being obliged to quit the coast of Spain in September to obtain water for his fleet, Blake left Captain Stayner with seven ships to watch the enemy. In this interval the Spanish Plate fleet appeared. Stayner captured four ships richly laden with bullion; the rest escaped. Montague conducted the prizes home, so that Blake was again left alone in the Mediterranean. In the ensuing spring, having learnt that another Plate fleet had put into the island of Teneriffe, he sailed thither, and arrived in the road of Santa Cruz, April 20, 1657. The bay was strongly fortified, with a formidable castle at the entrance, and a connected chain of minor forts all round it. The naval force collected there was also considerable, and strongly posted, the smaller vessels being placed under the guns of the forts, the galleons strongly moored with their broadsides to the sea; insomuch that the Spanish governor, a man of courage and ability, felt perfectly at ease as to the security of his charge. The master of a Dutch ship, which was lying in the harbour, was less satisfied, and went to the governor to request leave to quit the harbour; "For I am sure," he said, "that Blake will presently be among you." The governor made a confident reply—"Begone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares." Daring was the last thing wanting; nor did the admiral hesitate, as a wise man might well have done, about the real difficulties of the enterprise in which he was about to engage. The wind blowing into the bay, he sent in Captain Stayner with a squadron to attack the shipping, placed others in such a manner as take off, and, as far as possible, to silence the fire of the castle and the forts, and himself following, assisted Stayner in capturing the galleons, which, though inferior in number, were superior in size and force to the English ships. This was completed by two o'clock in the afternoon, the engagement having commenced at eight in the morning. Hopeless of being able to carry the prizes out of the bay against an adverse wind, and still active enemy, Blake gave orders to burn them: and it is probable that he himself might have found some dif-

difficulty in beating out of the bay under the fire of the castle, which was still lively, when on a sudden, the wind, which had blown strong into the bay, suddenly veered round to the south-west, and favoured his retreat, as it had favoured his daring approach. Of this, the most remarkable as it was the last exploit of Blake's life, Clarendon says, "The whole action was so incredible, that all men who knew the place wondered that any sober man, with what courage soever endowed, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done: while the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief, that they were devils and not men who had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous men can bring to pass, that no resistance or advantage of ground can disappoint them; and it can hardly be imagined how small a loss the English sustained in this unparalleled action, not one ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men; when the slaughter on board the Spanish ships and on shore was incredible." It will be recollected with interest that, on the same spot, Nelson lost his arm, in an unsuccessful night-attempt to capture Santa Cruz with an armed force in boats.

For this service the thanks of parliament were voted to the officers and seamen engaged, with a diamond ring to the Admiral worth 500*l*. Blake returned to his old station off Cadiz; but the increase of his disorders, which were dropsy and scurvy, raised a desire in him to return to England, which, however, he did not live to fulfil. He died as he was entering Plymouth Sound, August 17, 1657. His body was transported to London, and buried with great pomp in a vault in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey, at the public expense. After the Restoration it was thought unworthy to remain in that treasure-house of England's departed greatness; and with the bones of others who had found a resting-place there during the short period of the Commonwealth, it was transferred to St. Margaret's churchyard. It has been disputed whether this was done with more or less of

indecenty ; but the matter is little worth inquiry. The real indecenty and folly lay in thinking that any ground, however sanctified by the reverent associations of centuries, could be polluted by the tomb of a man whose leading passion was the glory of his country, and who made the name and flag of that country respected where-soever he carried it : a man of whom not one mean or interested action is recorded, and whose great qualities extorted praise even from the Royalists. Bate, in his ‘ *Elenchus Motuum*,’ speaks of him as a man “ blameable in this only, that he joined with the *parricides* ;” and it may be remarked that Dr. Bate’s horror of a parricide did not prevent his being physician to Cromwell, as well as to Charles I. and II. He was a man of the strictest honesty, liberal to the extent of his fortune, and so disinterested that he left only 500*l*. He was a man of low stature.

We conclude with Clarendon’s character of this great man. “ He was of private extraction, yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education, which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of a Master of Arts, and was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was. He was of a melancholic and sullen nature, and spent his time most with good fellows, who liked his moroseness, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the licence of the time and the power of the court. They who knew him inwardly, discovered that he had an anti-monarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger.” After a short sketch of Blake’s actions in the civil war, the noble author continues, “ He then betook himself wholly to the sea, and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined, and despised those rules which had long been in use, to keep his ship and his men out of danger ;

which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection, as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come safe home again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the first who infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and though he has been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements."

The earliest life of Blake which we have seen is in the second volume of a collection entitled 'Lives English and Foreign,' published at the beginning of the last century. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, the Memoirs of Ludlow, Whitelocke, and other contemporary authorities, will furnish minute accounts of the many battles of which we have here only made short mention.

END OF VOL. VI.

EH JB

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